REPORT RESUMES

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF BENGALI.
BY- RAY, PUNYA S. AND OTHERS
CHICAGO UNIV., ILL.

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR WAS PRODUCED FOR THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. THE WORK CONTAINS CHAPTERS ON--(1) SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, (2) HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE, (3) SOURCES OF LEXICAL ITEMS, (4) ORTHOGRAPHY, (5) PHONOLOGY, (6) NOUN INFLECTIONS, (7) VERBS, (8) POSTPOSITIONS, (9) ENCLITICS, (10) NUMERALS, (11) NEGATION, (12) FORMATIVE AFFIXES IN BENGALI, (13) LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL BENGALI, (14) BENGALI METER, (15) DIALECTS, AND (16) A SKETCH OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE. (TC)

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A Reference Grammar of Bengali

The University of Chicago

1966

Principal Investigator:
Punya Sloka Ray

P. N. Chakravarti
Suhas Chatterjee
Roushan Jahan
Muzaffer Ahmad

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Preface

For several years, basic research has been conducted in Bengali grammar at the University of Chicago. A number of people have participated in this research as linguists or assistants; these include Suhas Chatterjee, Samir Ghosh, Punya Sloka Ray, Prithinvindranath Chakravarti, Roushan Jahan, Muzaffer Ahmad, Sipra Chatterjee; Shamsul Bari has also contributed to the orthography chapter, and Edward Dimock has had some part in rewriting and in preparing sections on literary and colloquial Bengali and pronouns. The result of this long term cooperation is this draft.

Despite the work of so may people over so many years, the grammar has some gaps. The sections on syntax, for example, are basic but not yet complete. There should be a section on echo-words. It is hoped that these two and other gaps will be filled when this draft is revised for publication.

There is no need of justification for a reference grammar of this language; it is one of the most prestigious politically and culturally in South Asia. With radical increase in scholarly and other interest in the eastern part of the Indian sub-continent, the necessity of a reference grammar to accompany other teaching materials is obvious. It is hoped that this draft is the penultimate step toward meeting this necessity.

Bengali Reference Grammar

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I. Social and Historical Background

Bengali is the primary language of over ninety millions of people, of whom approximately one third live in West Bengal and Tripura, a few millions in neighboring states within India, especially in the Cachar district of Assam, and the majority in East Pakistan. It is one of the fourteen national languages of India, and one of the two of Pakistan. The language is used as a medium of instruction up to the graduate level in the humanities and to the junior college level in the natural sciences. It is a language used for religious purposes, and in this respect is subsidiary only to Sanskrit for Hindus and Arabic for Muslims.

Speakers of Bengali have great attachment to and pride in their language, and in its long and rich literary tradition, which dates from the beginning of the second Christian millenium, and which today is one of the most active in all of South Asia. There is attachment also to the Bengali script, which differs from the Devanagari script of Sanskrit and Hindi, though historically related to these, and this has been a factor in recent controversies regarding the use of the roman alphabet for the languages of India.

There are other languages spoken in the area, chiefly Hindi-Urdu and English, though these are spoken almost entirely in urban areas. In West Bengal alone, in 1961, 303 newspapers were published in English, 86 in Hindi and 21 in Urdu, compared to 489 in Bengali. Nepali is also spoken in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, Santali, a Munda language, along the western boundaries of that state, and various tribal languages distantly related to Tibetan and Burmese in Tripura, in the Darjeeling district, and in the Chittagong Hills of East Pakistan. Calcutta, the largest city of the Bengali-speaking area, with a population of over six million, has many isolated linguistic pockets, one of the largest of which is Oriya.

One sees and hears the term "Standard Bengali" frequently used. Actually, there are several standards. There are two literary standards, commonly called calit ("current" or "colloquial") and sadhu ("pure") Bengali. And calit Bengali is roughly equivalent to the most common form of the spoken language, at least as the language is spoken by educated people across political and religious boundaries. *Calit* Bengali, usually thought to be based on that form of the language spoken in the area of what is now the city of Calcutta, forms the basis of the description in this book, and of the teaching materials which this book is designed to supplement (*An Introduction to Bengali*, *Part I*, by Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *Somdev Bhattacharji, and Suhas Chatterji; Honolulu:* East West Center Press, 1965). In addition to these main standard forms of the language, there are many local and regional dialects, some distinction in speech forms among communities, and ideolectal combinations of all of these possible variants. While the base of *calit* speech is the dialect of the Calcutta area, other dialects have made extensive contributions to it. An idea of dialect variation can be gotten from the sketches of West Birbhum, Dacca, and Chittagong dialects which make up the third chapter of Part III of this book. West Birbhum is included as a sample of a dialect close to the commonly accepted standard colloquial. Dacca speech is important first because it is heard in and around Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, and secondly because it is closely related in formal structure to many dialects of the eastern part of Bengal, both Pakistan and India. And Chittagong is an example of a highly deviant dialect.

Other deviant dialects, located on the accompanying map, include that of Sylhet district, Chakma along the Karnaphuli River in the Chittagong Hills, Hajong in northern Mymensingh and Sylhet, Rajbangshi in Rangpur, Malpaharia in the Santal Parganas, Kharia Thar in the area southwest of Ranchi, the Cachar district of Assam, and Kaivarta speech in central Midnapore.

SECTION I, No. 2.

History of the Language:

Old Bengali

(900-1300)

0. Introduction

1. OB forms and sources

2. Phonology

3. Morphology

0.0 Preliminary remarks
0.1 Scheme I
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3.5 Inflexion /-i/

3.6 Inflexion /-tẽ/

3.70 IS morphology

3.71 Inflexion /-hu/

3.80 Non-inflexional case-morphs

3.81 Case preposition

3.82 Case postposition

0.0 The Bengali language falls within the Magadhi or Eastern groups of Indoaryan languages. Bengali, as a new Indoaryan language, emerged between the eighth and the tenth centuries. Some scholars put this date at 750 A.D., while others consider 950 A.D. as more accurate.

The following schematic representations show the linear heritage and inter-relationship of Bengali with other modern IA languages.

0.1 Scheme I

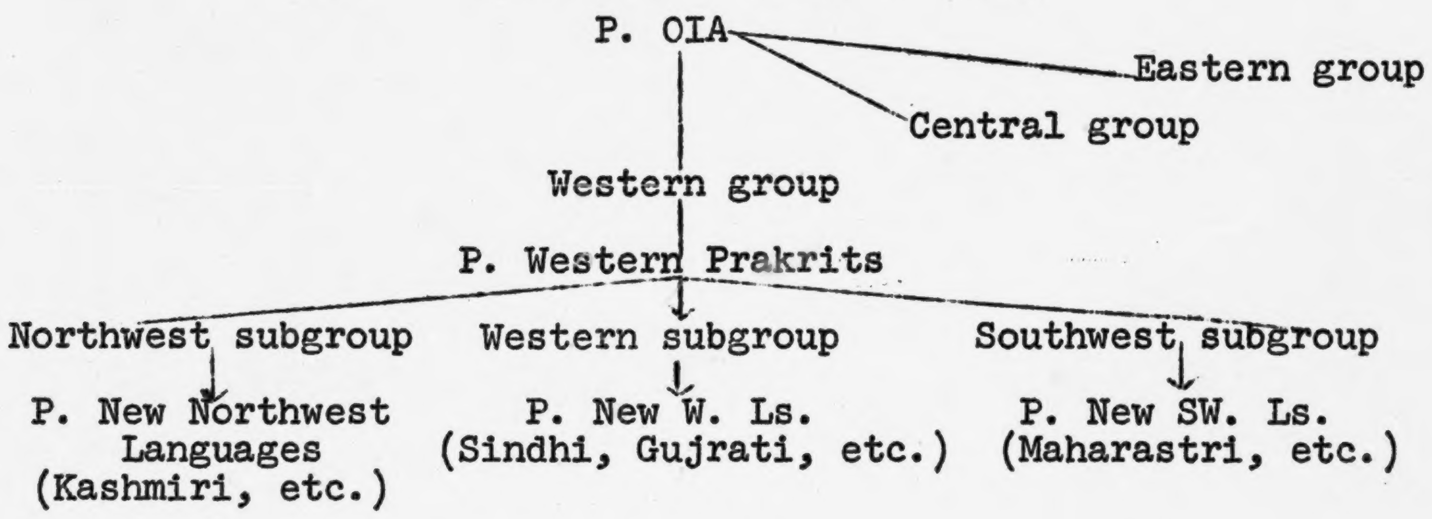
P. Indoaryan
(c. 2000 B.C.)

P. Old Indoaryan Languages (OIA = Vedic, Sanskrit)
(c. 2000-c. 600 B.C.)

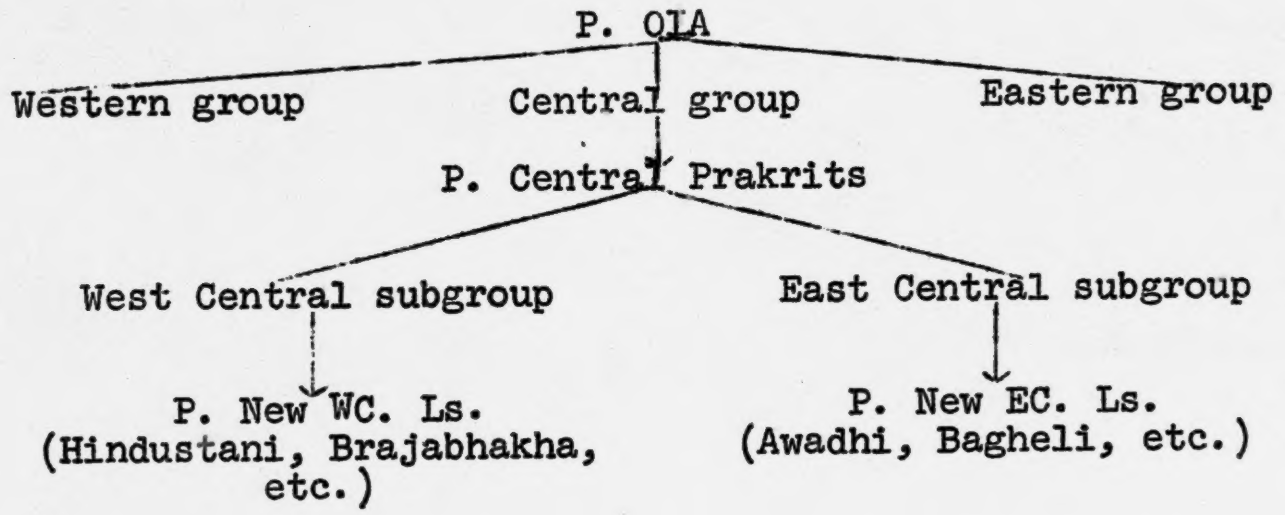
P. Middle Indoaryan Languages (MIA = Prakrits)
(c. 601-B.C.-c. 1000 A.D.)

P. New Indoaryan Languages (NIA)
(c. 1001 A.D.- ∞

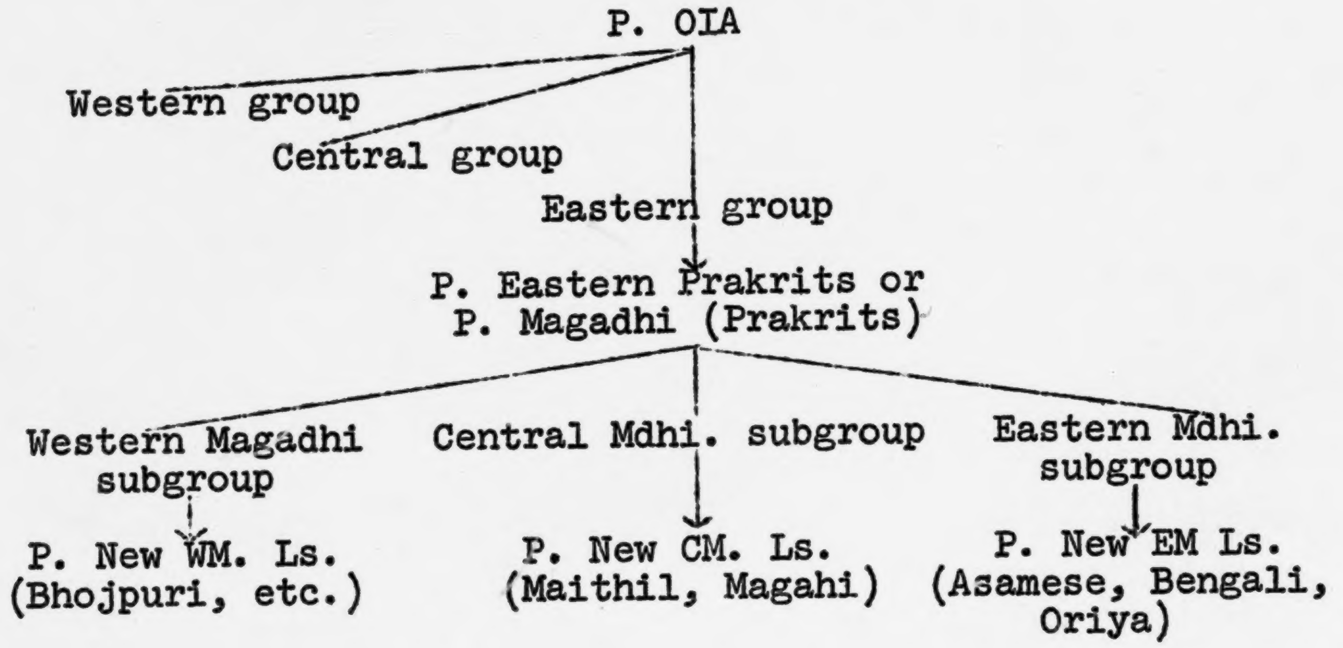
0.2 Scheme II 'Western Group'


P. OIA
Eastern group
Central group
Western group
P. Western Prakrits
Northwest subgroup
Western subgroup
Southwest subgroup
P. New Northwest Languages (Kashmiri, etc.)
P. New W. Ls. (Sindhi, Gujrati, etc.)
P. New SW. Ls. (Maharastri, etc.)

0.3 Scheme III 'Central group'


P. OIA
Western group
Central group
Eastern group
P. Central Prakrits
West Central subgroup
East Central subgroup
P. New WC. Ls.
(Hindustani, Brajabhakha, etc.)
P. New EC. Ls.
(Awadhi, Bagheli, etc.)

0.4 Scheme IV 'Eastern group'


P. OIA
Western group
Central group
Eastern group
P. Eastern Prakrits or
P. Magadhi (Prakrits)
Western Magadhi subgroup
Central Mdhi. subgroup
Eastern Mdhi. subgroup
P. New WM. Ls.
(Bhojpuri, etc.)
P. New CM. Ls.
(Maithil, Magahi)
P. New EM Ls.
(Asamese, Bengali, Oriya)

0.5 Note on the Schemes III and IV

New West-Central and New East-Central Languages are collectively called Western and Eastern Hindi (Scheme III), while two Magadhi subgroups (viz. New Western Magadhi and New Central Magadhi languages) are similarly called Bihari or Bihari Hindi.

0.6 Periodic divisions of Bengali

The history of Bengali may be divided into three broad periods, viz. Old period, Middle period and the Modern or New period. However, these might be elaborated a little and divided further with dates as follows:

		900 1100 1300	1500	1700
1.	Conventional name	Old Bengali	Middle Bengali eMB	
2.	Language standardization	Prestandardized Bengali (dialectal Beng.)	Standardized Bengali (with various substandards)	
3.	Locational perspective	Obscure	North Bhagirathi Middle Bhagirathi	
4.	Sociocultural perspective	Localised integration with nominal pan-Bengali institutions	Establishment of distinctive Bengali culture	
5.	Cultural contact	Mahayan Buddhism, Brahmanism; Later Jainism in W. Bengal and various local religions and cultures; Tantra	Muslim invasion (1198)	Perso-Arabic through Afghans
6.	Linguistic contact	Abahatta, Sanskṛit	Sanskrit, Persian, Brajabuli; and Portugese	
7.	Literary forms	Lyric	Epic	Lyric Epic Popular prose (pre-standardized)
8.	Chief sources	Caryā	Srīkriṣnakīrtan	Mangal Epics, Vaishnav padas, etc. Karcas, etc.

		1900	1950
1.	Conventional name	New Bengali 1MB	
2.	Language standardization	Poststandardized Bengali (with at least one restandardized Bengali	
3.	Locational perspective	South Bhagirathi Trans-Bhagirathi	
4.	Sociocultural perspective	Resultant sub-culture within the Indic frame	Partition
5.	Cultural contact	European through English	
6.	Linguistic contact	English, Sanskrit Persian	
7.	Literary forms	Lyric Epic Sadhu prose Chalit prose	
8.	Chief sources	Works of Madhusudan, Bankim, Tagore, etc.	

0.7 Chief morphologic features of Proto-Bengali

1)	/-ra/	plural suffix;
2)	/-er/	Genitive case ending;
3)	/-re, -ke, -ka/	Objective (Indirect)-Dative case endings;
4)	/-te, -ta/	Locative case ending;
5)	/-ila/	Past tense marker;
6)	/-iba/	Future tense marker;
7)	/-ia, -ile, -ite/	non-finite suffixes;

and 8) various postpositions, e.g.

/dia/

/karia/

/thakia/

etc.

1.0 Remarks on the OB language and sources.

The discussion in the following two sections is based on written evidence. Features and forms are not reconstructed from the modern oral sources. However, the evidence of all three consecutive periods has been taken into account in formulating the hypothetical forms (marked by an asterisk).

The chief source of OB is the Caryā songs which were written between the ninth and twelfth centuries. A commentary was written probably in the fourteenth century by one Munidatta. The manuscript containing these old Bengali songs is, however, not very old. It has been in the Darbar Library of Nepal and was first brought to light by M.M. Haraprasād Śāśtrī in 1916.

1.1 Source

1. "Caryāgiti" or caryā songs, as found in the book, viz. *caryāścaryabiniścaya*, collected in a larger anthology, viz. *hājār bacharer purāṇa baŋgālā bhāṣār banddhagān o dohā*, by M.M. Haraprasād Śaśtrī. The twenty-four poets of the caryā songs, known as "siddhācaryas", belong to the Sahajiyā tāntric sect of the Mahāyāṇa section of Buddhism.

2. Songs and fragments quoted by the commentator of the caryā songs.

3. Fragments quoted in *vidagdhamuṇḍana* by the Buddhist poet Dharmadāsa.

4. Songs and rhymes collected in *sekaśubhodayā*.

5. Lexical items found in *ṭīkasarbaswa*, a commentary on the *amarakoṣa*, by Sarbānanda (twelfth century).

1.2 Types of linguistic evidences

Nos. 1 through 4 contain verse forms. Language is non-standardized. It apparently shows features of more than one dialect (particularly No. 1). No. 5 contains only lexical items which are tadbhāva, tatsama, and desi.

1.3 Linguistic contact

In this period later Abahaṭṭa and Sanskrit were the predominant cultural languages. Consequently, the literary documents which have Old Bengali features show large amounts of borrowings from these two languages. While Sanskrit was the language of the court-poets and learned men, the later Abahaṭṭa was the popular literary medium of the common people. Due to the contact with these two languages, the following important features were developed in the attested writings (No. 1 through No. 4):

1. Abahaṭṭa features
   a. Phonologic
      1) Use of intervocalic doubling of consonants

b. Morphologic

2) -*in* past tense marker

3) -*mi* I-person marker in the verb

c. Lexical element

4) Pronominal stems, e.g. *jima*, *tima*, etc.

5) Others, e.g. *ma* 'negative'

2. Sanskrit features

Lexical items

1) tatsama stems (mostly technical terms), e.g. śara-sandhan-, śaśī, etc.

2) semi-tatsama stems, e.g. *sujja*, *swapaṇ-*, etc.

(It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit grammatical features did not effectively influence these writings.)

2.0 OB Phonology

ES = Evolved or main system

IS = Invited or Intruded system

2.1 ES vowels

/ i

e

u

o

a

V́

Ṽ /

2.2 ES consonants

/ k K g G

c C j J

ṭ Ṭ ḍ Ḍ

t T d D n N

p P b B m M

r l s h /

* Block letters represent aspirated phonemes. However, an aspirated phoneme is represented by a non-aspirated one plus h in the main body of the book.

2.3 Additional phoneme for IS

/V:/ length

2.4 ES Syllable formation

	$(C)V(C^n)$	for all morphs;
non-final	$(C)V(C^1)$	for verb morphs only
	$C^1 = C^1$	that precedes a C^1 of the next syllable

2.5 IS syllable formation

(C)V(C) for all morphs

2.6 OB morphophoneme, a^1

a^1 = a at the final position of the stem.

a^1 --> $\emptyset$

before a case-inflexion beginning with a V.

3.0 Case inflexions

3.1 /-ka (~ -ke) ~ -re/ Objective (indirect) and Dative

/ṭhákuraka/ <-- /ṭhákura + -ka/;

/tohare/ <-- /toha + -re/;

/báhabake/ <-- /báhaba + -ke/;

3.2 /-ẽ^1/ Instrumental

/bohẽ/ <-- /boha^1 + -ẽ/;

/sádẽ/ <-- /sáda^1 + -ẽ/;

etc.

3.3 /-era/ Genitive

e.g.

/*kaher/ <-- '*kaha^1 + -era/, cf. Kaheri;

/ḍombiera/ <-- /ḍombi + -era/;

/*mera/ <-- /ma^1 + -era/, cf. meri;
/rukhera/ <-- /rukha^1 + -era/

3.4 /-ẽ^2/ (from Instrumental) Locative

/gharẽ/ <-- /ghara^1 + -ẽ/;
/hiẽ/ <-- /hia^1 + -ẽ/;
etc.

3.5 /-i ~ -e ~ -hi ~ -t/ Locative

/niaḍi/ <-- /niaḍa^1 + -i/;
/ghare/ <-- /ghara^1 + -e/;
/hiahi/ <-- /hia + -hi/;
/sánkamata/ <-- /sánkama + -ta/;
etc.

3.6 /-tẽ/ (<--/-ta/ 'Loc. + /-e/ 'Instr.')
~ / -etẽ/ (<-- /-e/ 'Loc.; + / -ta/ 'Loc.' +
/ -ẽ/ 'Inst')

in Locative-Instrumental

/tarangatẽ/ <-- /taranga + te/;
/sukhaduketẽ/ <-- /sukhadukha^1 + -etẽ/;
etc.

3.70 IS Morphology

3.71 /-hu/ Ablative (from Abahaṭṭa)

/khepahu/ <-- /khepa + -hu/;

/raanahu/ <-- /raana + -hu/.

3.80 Non-inflexional case-morphs

3.81 i) Case preposition

1) /diã/ as in /diã cancáli/

3.82 ii) Case postpositions

a. participial

2) /bhara/ as in /adharáti bhara kamala bikasiu/

3) /laia/ as in /mahásuhe bilasanti sabaro laia sunameheli/

b. nominal

4) /antare/ as in /tohara antare/

5) /binu/ as in /tãi binu/

History of the Language:

Middle Bengali
(1301 - 1750)

1.0 Preliminary remarks

2.0 Sources of EMB

3.0 Type of Evidence

4.0 Contact

5.0 EMB Phonology
5.1 IS and ES merged
5.2 Salient features
5.3 EMB phonemes

6.0 EMB Morphology
6.1 Marker in Nouns
6.2 Markers in Verbs
6.3 Compounded Verbs

7.0 Sources of LMB

8.0 Contact

9.0 LMB phonological development
9.1 Apocope Syncope
9.2 Umlaut

10.0 LMB morphological development
10.1 Plural
10.2 Denominative verb stems
10.3 Borrowed lexical items

1.0 Texts of this period may be divided into two broad classes, viz. 1) Written texts, and 2) Oral texts. Few, if any, texts were copied in this period. Some oral literature was written down in the later years of MB; but, only in modern times have these been collected.

2.0 Source

śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana by Baru Chandidas (baṛu caṇḍidāsa). This book was discovered by Basantaranjan Ray, vidyādvallabha, in 1909, from a village, viz. Kankilya ('K$\overset{u}{\text{ā}}$kilyā), in the District of Bankura of West Bengal. According to Rakhaldas Banerji, the manuscript was copied before 1385, probably in the early half of the fourteenth century. This is the only written document avaiable for the period which is termed here as EMB.

Some other books were also written in this period. But all of those were copied or rewritten later. From the linguistic point of view, these do not belong to the period under discussion.

3.0 Type of evidence

The text is a verse dramma, comprising both dialogues and description. Each verse line ends with a sentence boundary. The meter is syllabic throughout, very seldom syllable-moraic. The dialogues, on the whole, reflect a dialect belonging to the Western variety of Bengali.

4.0 Linguistic contact

In this period Sanskrit was the dominant cultural language. The author of *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* was highly conversant with Sanskrit. Politically, major parts of Bengal came under the Muslim rulers in this period. Though the rulers spoke a Pathan language, the official language of the country in this period was Persian. However, as the common people did not have much contact with officialdom, the official language in this period did not influence Bengali. In *śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* only a few items of Perso-Arabic source are found.

5.0 EMB Phonology

5.1 The Invited System was dropped: IS and ES were merged into a single system; this system may be called Main System (=MS). As a result of this merger the following phonological changes took place:

1) V́ of ES and V: of IS
---> V́ (:) of MS (this suprasegment occurs only with /a/; in other words, instead of 5 basic vowels and 2 suprasegments (V́, Ṽ) of ES, we get 6 basic vowels (i,e,u,o,a,á) and 1 suprasegment (Ṽ)).

2) Syllabic formation:

CV(V)	final
$(C)V\begin{Bmatrix}V\\C\end{Bmatrix}$	non-final

To accomodate the items of IS into the MS, there grew the following phonological features:

Anaptixis:

IS	sna:na	--->	MS	sinána
	vya:kula	--->		biakula
	padma:	--->		paduma

Metathesis:

IS	hrada	--->	MS	(*hada --->)
				daha

5.2 Salient features

Diphthongization:

J = semivowel

OB (C) VJV ---> EMB (C) VV,

phonetically [(c) VV]

E.g. OB baṛai (three syllables) --->
EMB bɔṛai (two syllables)

Aspirated nasals ---> simple nasals:

E.g.

kānha ---> kanɔ

5.3 EMB phonemes

Vowels

/ i
e
u
o
ɔ
a
Ṽ /

Consonants

/ kh	kh	g	gh	ŋ	
c	ch	j	jh		
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh		
t	th	d	dh	n	
p	ph	b	bh	m	
r	l	s	h		/

6.0 EMB Morphology

6.1 Marker in Nouns

-ra for plurality (Animate)

E.g. tomara, amara, etc.

6.2 Markers in Verbs

-il = Past marker

E.g. mo sunilɔ̃ 'I heard'

-iba = Future marker

E.g. moi koribɔ̃ 'I will do'

6.3 Compounded verbs

-ach- (<--- $\sqrt{\ }$ -ach 'to be')
occurs with the verb stem to indicate
perfect tenses:

E.g.
rɔhiloche <--- $\sqrt{\ }$ rɔh + ilo +
-ch- + -e

7.0 Sources of LMB

Sources are numerous. Prose was developed in the last century of this period, viz. the eighteenth century. The Maṅgala kă̈vyas and biographical treatises used the standard dialect. The language of the lyrics of this period has several substandards: viz. Vaishnava padabalis use many stylised forms, while Śākta padabalis incorporate many spoken forms.

8.0 Contact

In this period, Perso-Arabic languages influenced Bengali to a great extent. The chapters on lexical items discuss these points in detail.

9. LMB phonological development

9.1 Apocope and Syncope:

E.g.

akaš (<--- akašɔ), gach (<--- gachɔ),
etc. for apocope.

bhabna (<--- bhabɔna), šobje (<--- šobuj),
etc. for syncope.

9.2 Umlaut

saudh <--- sadhu
kail <--- kali, etc.

10.0 LMB morphological development

10.1

gula ~ guli	for plurality
-di-, -dig-	for plurality in oblique case for human items

10.2 Demoninative verb stems:

Many Sanskrit noun items are verbalized in this period,

E.g.

santaibo <--- "sāntwanā" +

onubroji <--- "anubraja" +
'to follow'

10.3 Lexical items from foreign sources

Sources of Lexical Items

3.1 The lexical items of Bengali are here divided into two broad divisions:

(1) EVOLVED, and (2) INVITED

The evolved items are those which have been acquired by Bengali from its predecessor, PRĀKRITA. The evolved items that are found in the earlier stages of Bengali, have continually undergone linguistic change. The invited items are those which are borrowed in Bengali from various languages.

3.2 Evolved Items

Not all Prakrit items entered into the corpus of Bengali. The selected ones formed the main corpus. And throughout the long history of Bengali, further selection took place. The Prakrit items that are found in present-day Bengali are, apparently, a closed list. However, Prakrit items that are found only in non-modern Bengali (Old, Middle Bengali) are still used, at least in written Bengali. Certain poets, even a group of fiction writers, have tended towards including those items in their writings.

4.3 Invited Items

These items have come from various languages that have come into contact with Bengali. In the first phase of Bengali, it was Sanskrit vocabulary that influenced Bengali. In the second phase, Perso-Arabic contributed equally with Sanskrit to the invited items. In the third phase came two more languages which were spoken by the traders in Lower Bengal: Portuguese, one of the two languages, was almost a lingua franca of this part of the country. The other was French.

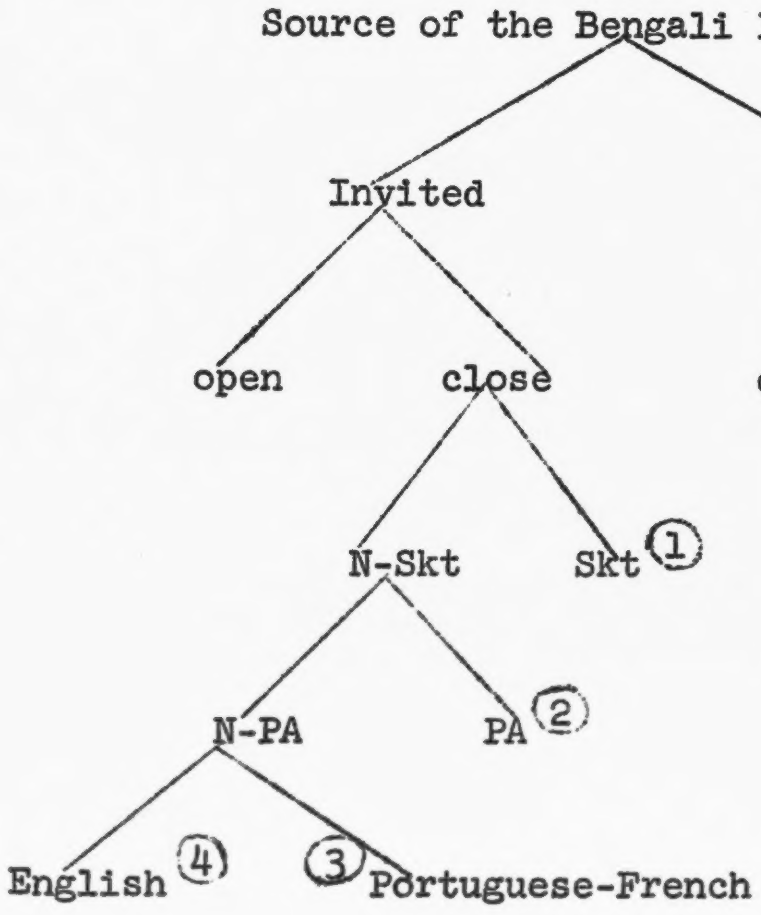
It is of interest to note that the invited items are always connected with the sociocultural aspects of the language. In the first phase, Sanskrit items were chiefly scientific and philosophical terminologies. Perso-Arabic items, in the second phase, were chiefly legal and administrative ones. European traders introduced certain utensils, furnitures, food items, etc. to India, and consequently certain Portuguese words, denoting these items, were borrowed by Bengali. French and Portuguese have contributed some items concerning arms and ammunition to the vocabulary of Bengali.

The final phase, i.e., in present-day Bengali, English has very entensively contributed to the lexical corpus of Bengali, and this corpus includes almost all fields of language behavior.

3.4 The development of the invited items may be presented as follows:

Phases of Bengali	Languages-in-contact
1	Sanskrit
2	$\boxed{\text{Skt.,}}$ Perso-Arabic
3	$\boxed{\text{Skt.,}}$ $\boxed{\text{P.A.,}}$ Portuguese-French
4	$\boxed{\text{Skt.,}}$ $\boxed{\text{P.A.,}}$ $\boxed{\text{Port.-Fr.,}}$ English

3.5 The sources of the Bengali lexical items:


Source of the Bengali lexical items
Invited
Evolved
open
close
close
open
N-Skt
Skt ①
N-PA
PA ②
English ④
③ Portuguese-French

3.6 Illustrations

3.6.11 Evolved: Indo-Aryan

kan-	<----	kṛṣṇa	'krishna'
bɔchor	<----	vatsar	'year'
lokkhi	<----	lakṣmi	'goddess of wealth'
cãd	<----	candra	'the moon'

etc.

3.6.12 Evolved: Indo-European

		Greek	
dam	<----	drakhme	'price'
siũi simái	<----	semidalis	'Indian vermicelli'
śuṛɔŋqo šuṛɔŋ	<----	surinkos (syrinx)	'tunnel'

etc.

3.6.13 Evolved: Dravidian

bhiṭi	<----	viṭṭu	'house'
guṛi	<----	qaḍḍa	'lump, mass'
-oṛa	<----	oṛak	'house'
jol	<----	jōru	'drip, flow'

etc.

3.6.14 Evolved: Residual

ṭoŋ ~ ṭoŋgo	<----	ṭaŋka	'a raised platform'
ḍhak	<----	ḍhakka	'drum'
√ ḍhuk	<----	ḍhukk-	'to enter'

etc.

3.6.21 Invited: Sanskrit

a.	kal	<----	kāla	'time'
b.	deš	<----	dēša	'place, land'
c.	nic	<----	nica	'low'
d.	akaš	<----	ākāšā	'sky'
e.	jɔl	<----	jala	'water'

3.6.22 Invited: Persian-Arabic

I) Administrative

jela	<----	/zila/	'district'
khajna	<----	/xazānah/	'revenue'
jomi	<----	/zamin/	'land'
dolil	<----	/dalīl/	'document'

etc.

II) Military

tir	<----	/tīr/	'arrow'
kaman	<----	/kamān/	'canon'
phouj	<----	/fauj/	'army'
kella	<----	/qiḷāh/	'fort'

etc.

III) Intellectual

ostad	<----	/ustad/	'teacher'
talim	<----	/talim/	'instruction'
takrar	<----	/takrar/	'argument'

etc.

IV) Material Culture

reyala	<----	/piyālāh/	'cup'
polao	<----	/palōw/ /pilav/	'meat and rice, dish'
šaban	<----	/sabun/	'song'
jama	<----	/jamāh/	'shirt'
rasta	<----	/rastāh/	'road'
rumal	<----	/rū-māl/	'handkerchief'

etc.

V) Miscellaneous

mɔja	<----	/mazā/	'fun'
rešɔm	<----	/rēšam/	'silk'
laek	<----	/laiq/	'worthy, fit'

etc.

3.6.221 Turkish

tɔkma	<----	/tamgah/	
bŏcka	<----	/bugca/	'bundle'
kăci	<----	/qainci/	'scissors'
laš	<----	/las/	'body'
baburci	<----	/bavarci/	'cook'

etc.

3.6.23 Invited: Portuguese-French-Dutch

3.6.231 Portuguese

anarǒš	<----	ananas	'pineapple'
janala	<----	janella	'window'
pistǒl	<----	pistola	'pistol'
pipa	<----	pipa	'cask'
almari	<----	almario	'almira'
balti	<----	balde	'bucket'

etc.

3.6.232 French

kartuj	<----	cartouche	'cartridge'
kupon	<----	coupon	'coupon'
olondaj	<----	hollandais	'Dutch'

etc.

3.6.233 Dutch

turup	<----	troef	'trump'
hɔrtɔn	<----	harten	'hearts'
ruitɔn	<----	ruiten	'diamonds'
iskabɔn	<----	schopen	'spades'

etc.

3.6.24 Invited: English

I) Administrative

jɔj	'judge'
puliš	'police'
apil	'appeal'
ætɔrni	'attorney'
bhoṭ	'vote'
jel	'jail'

etc.

II) Military

boma	'bomb'
lain	'line'
jãdrel	'general'
gaḍ ~ gard	'guard'

etc.

III) Intellectual

iš̱kul	'school'
kɔlej	'college'
maṣṭar	'master'
etc.	

IV) Material Culture

ṭebil	'table'
cear	'chair'
benci	'bench'
kap	'cup'
etc.	

3.6.25 Note

These loan-words indicate certain important socio-cultural facts. The frequency, the manner of usage, the pronunciation is directly related to the socio-economic-cultural background of the speaker.

Muslims use more Perso-Arabic lexical items than Hindus. They have an exclusive closed set of Perso-Arabic kinship religious ritual terms not shared by the Hindus. Their pronunciation is different also, e.g. M. /saf/ H. /šaph/ 'clean'.

English-educated bilinguals continue borrowing more English lexical items. English technical terms, though translated, are retained in the spoken language.

Orthography

4.1

The Bengali writing system consists of a set of 52 graphemes.[1] Most of these graphemes have more than one allograph. For facility of reference each grapheme here is equated with or transliterated by one or two Roman letters included in < >. According to the native tradition, we can classify the Bengali graphemes under two broad classes: *svara varṇa* /śɔr bɔrno/ 'vowel letters' and *byañjana varṇa* /bænjo bɔrno/ 'consonant letters'.[2] From a study of the distribution of vowel and consonant graphemes, one can isolate one allograph of each grapheme as primary; the other allographs, if there be any, can be called secondary.

4.2

This section lists the primary allographs. The secondary allographs are listed in sections

---

[1] The punctuation marks, numerical symbols, and the symbols used in technical writings are not treated here.

[2] According to strict descriptive procedure of the graphemes, we should avoid these terms at this point because they refer to two categories of sounds.

4.3.1 and 4.5.2.1.

4.2.1 Primary vowel allographs:

অ	< a >	আ	< ā >	ই	< i >	ঈ	< ī >
উ	< u >	ঊ	< ū >	ঋ	< ṛ >	ঌ	< ḷ >
এ	< e >	ঐ	< ai >	ও	< o >	ঔ	< au >

4.2.2 Primary consonant allographs:

ক	< k >	খ	< kh >	গ	< g >	ঘ	< gh >	ঙ	< ŋ >
চ	< c >	ছ	< ch >	জ	< j >	ঝ	< jh >	ঞ	< ñ >
ট	< ṭ >	ঠ	< ṭh >	ড	< ḍ >	ঢ	< ḍh >	ণ	< ṇ >
ত	< t >	থ	< th >	দ	< d >	ধ	< dh >	ন	< n >
প	< p >	ফ	< ph >	ব	< b >	ভ	< bh >	ম	< m >
য	< y >	য়	< y̲ >	র	< r >	ল	< l >	হ	< h >
শ	< ś >	ষ	< ṣ >	স	< s >				
ড়	< ṛ >	ঢ়	< ṛh >	ৎ	< t̲ >				
ং	< ṃ >	ঃ	< ḥ >	ঁ	< ~ >[1]				

4.3

The secondary vowel allographs are either in complementary distribution with the primary allographs or are in free variation with them.

---

1. The grapheme ঁ < ~ > has been listed among the consonantal allographs only for facility of presentation.

4.3.1.

The secondary vowel allographs[1] are listed below:

$\emptyset_1$	< ɔ >
া	< a >
ি	< i >
ু, ু, ু	< u >
ূ, ূ	< ū >
ৃ	< ṛ >
ে	< e >
ৈ	< ai >
ো $\emptyset_2$	< o >[2]
ৌ	< au >[3]

---

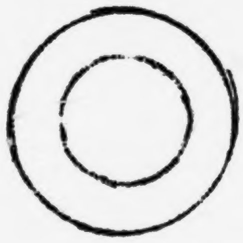
[1] For representing the secondary allographs in transliteration, we do not use any additional symbol. The graphemic symbol is written on the right side of the secondary allographs, showing to which grapheme the allographs in question belong.

[2] The allographs $\emptyset_1$ and $\emptyset_2$ belonging to অ < a > and ও < o > respectively have been introduced for theoretical needs which will be apparent from the discussion that follows. In the following chapter these symbols have been rarely used, and we shall refer to them by calling them 'inherent vowel'.

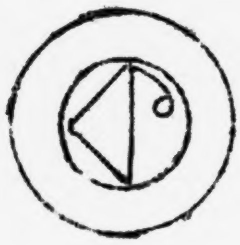
[3] Traditional presentation of the graphemes in a chart form does not take care of the grapheme <   > which is used, though rarely, to show that neither $\emptyset_1$ or $\emptyset_2$ is inherent within a consonant grapheme. Note that ্ < ্ > is a grapheme in the negative sense, because its presence indicates absence of something.

4.3.2.

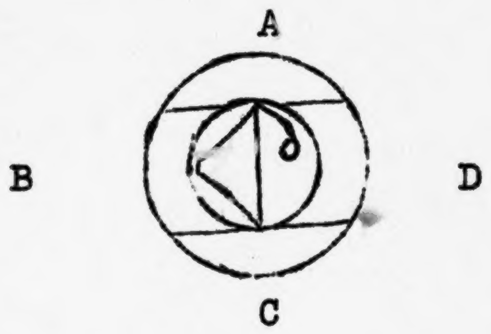
The places for writing the secondary vowel allographs can be best shown if we draw two concentric circles of different sizes. The two circles will look like the following:



Now, if we write a consonant symbol within the smaller circle, the whole thing looks like:

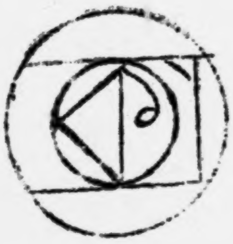


Next we divide the space between the two circles into four divisions in the following manner, and mark them by A, B, C, and D.

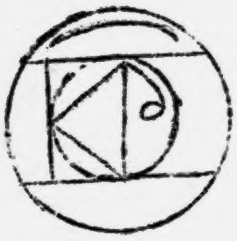


The four divisions thus obtained, viz. A, B, C, and D, represent almost precisely the regions where the secondary vowel allographs are written. Some of the allographs occupy just one region, some occupy two regions simultaneously, and there is one allograph, viz.   , which occupies even three regions simultaneously.

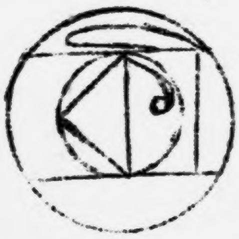
The following diagrams are intended to show the locations of each of the secondary vowel allographs:



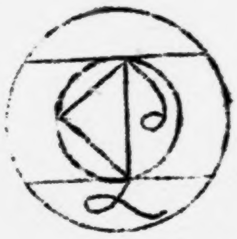
< ā >



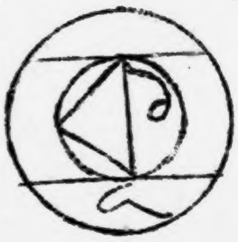
< i >



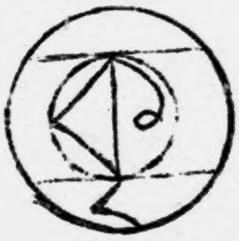
< ī >



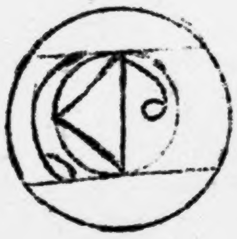
< u >



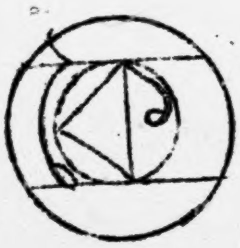
< ū >



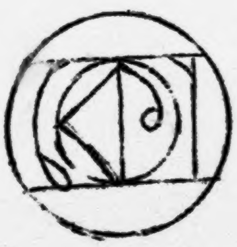
< ri >



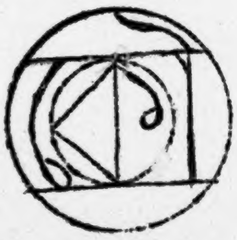
< e >



< ai >



< o >



< au >

Note that the topmost region can only be occupied by some parts of some allographs; that is to say, a whole allograph can never be written in this region. Hereafter, the secondary vowel allographs, whatever regions they might occupy, will be said to occur after the consonant graphemes.

4.4.

The distribution of the vowel allographs

4.4.1 The primary allographs

From the point of view of distribution, the primary vowel allographs can be brought under two categories: (a) those that occur only initially, and (b) those that are distributed initially and medially as well as finally after secondary vowel allographs form the second category.

(a) Under the first category come the following:

(i)	অ	< a >;	অজয়	'a proper name'
(ii)	আ	< ā >;	আম	'mango'
(iii)	ঈ	< ī >;	ঈগল	'eagle'
(iv)	ঊ	< ū >;	ঊষা	'morning'

(v)	ঋ	< ṛ >;	ঋতু	'season'
(vi)	ঐ	< ai >;	ঐ	'that'
(vii)	ঔ	< au >;	ঔষধি [1]	'medicine'

(b) The second category consists of the following:

(i)	ই	< i >;	ইমন	'name of a *raga*'
			খাইতাম	'I used to eat'
			বইতো	'he used to carry'
			ভাই	'brother'
(ii)	উ	< u >;	উত্তর	'answer'
			বাউরি	'name of a caste'
			বউ	'wife'
(iii)	ও	< o >;	ওঠা	'to get up'
			চওড়া	'wide'
			খাও	'you eat'

---

1. This is an SB word; the LCB/SB form is ওষুধ < ośud >. All other words with initial ঔ < au > occur in the SB/LCB and in the formal colloquial speech, but hardly ever in the ordinary CB.

4.4.2 The secondary vowel allographs:

The secondary vowel allographs can occur only after the consonant graphemes or after the clusters of these. As their occurrence is thus always dependent upon the occurrence of some consonant graphemes before them, they can never stand initially. Though they are limited to medial and final positions, it should be remembered that occurrence in these positions is not an exclusive privilege of the secondary allographs alone. The second category of primary allographs (viz. ই < i >, উ < u >, and ও < o >) also can occur in these positions. But the details of the total environment of the primary allographs are fundamentally different from the details of the total environment of the secondary allographs. The primary vowel allographs occurring medially and finally must always be preceded by another vowel allograph, while for the medial and final appearance of a secondary allograph in these positions the prerequisite is that there must be a consonant allograph preceding it. Thus, compare the following pairs:

আনি < āni > 'I bring'
versus
আইন < āin> 'law';

মালি < māli > 'gardener' versus
মাইল < māil > 'mile'.

4.4.2.1.

The secondary allographs of the graphemes উ < u >, ঊ < ū >, ঋ < ṛ > call for a special treatment. The list of the secondary allographs in 4.3.1 shows that the grapheme < u > has three secondary allographs, and each of the graphemes < ū > and < ṛ > has two. The distribution of the secondary allographs of < u >, < ū >, and < ṛ > are presented in the following table:

The grapheme	Allographs	The environments in which they occur	Resultant forms
উ < u >	~	হ < h >	হু < hu >
	ɕ	(i) the primary allographs of the graphemes গ < g >, র < r >, শ < ś >; (ii) the graphemic clusters of which the second member is ্র , the secondary allograph of the grapheme < r >, e.g. ত্র < tr >, ভ্র < bhr >, etc.	(i) গু < gu >, রু < ru >, শু < śu > (ii) ত্রু < tru >, ভ্রু < bhṙu >
	∝	where neither ~ nor ɕ occurs	কু < ku > মু < mu > etc.

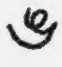
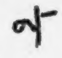
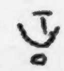
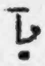
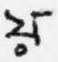
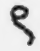
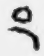
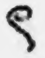
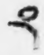
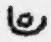
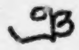
ঊ < ū >	⌝	(i) the primary allograph of the grapheme র < r >; (ii) the graphemic clusters of which the second member is ্র , the secondary allograph of the grapheme র < r >, e.g. ত্র < tr >	রূ < rū >
ঋ < ṛ >	ূ	where ⌝ does not occur	ভূ < bhū > শু < śu >, etc.
	1	হ < h >	হৃ < hṛ >
	<	where the allograph 1 does not occur	কৃ < kṛ >, ধৃ < dhṛ >, etc.

1. The description above regarding the secondary allographs of the graphemes < u, ū, ṛ > represents traditional system of writing pursued by the majority of people and publication concerns. In modern times there has set in a new convention of representing the secondary allographs of the graphemes < u, ū, ṛ> by only ু , ূ , ৃ respectively in all the environments. This new convention has not received wide acceptance yet.

4.5

The distribution of the consonantal allographs

4.5.1 The primary allographs

The graphemes  < ŋ >,  < ṇ >,  < ṛ >,  < ṛh >,  < y̲ >,  < ṯ >,  < ṃ >, < ḥ >, and < ~ > cannot occur word-initially. Among these  < ṯ >,  < ṃ >, and  < ~ > can never be followed by any of the vowel graphemes. The grapheme  < ñ > occurs neither initially nor finally, but is limited to medial position only. The other graphemes have no such limitation of occurrence.

4.5.2 The secondary allographs

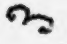
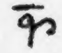
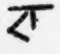
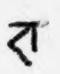
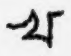
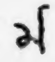
The secondary consonantal allographs are either in complementary distribution with the primary allographs or are in free variation with them. They appear either as members of graphemic clusters or occur in combination with some secondary vowel allographs.[1]

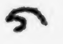
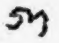
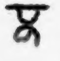
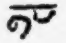
---

[1] There are 158 two-member consonantal clusters. These are presented in the appendix.

4.5.2.1

In the following pages we concentrate on the secondary consonantal allographs occurring as members of the clusters or appearing in combination with some secondary vowel allographs.

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
ক < k >		ক্ত < kt >	রক্ত < rakta >	blood
		ক্র < kr >	চক্র < cakkra >	wheel
		ক্ক < kk >	চিক্কণ < cikkaṇ >	smooth
		ক্ব < kb >	পক্ব < pabka>	mature
		ক্ষ < kṣ >	রক্ষা < rakṣa>	protection
খ < kh >		ঙ্খ < ŋkh >	শৃঙ্খল < śṛŋkhala >	order
		ঙ্খ < ŋkh >	শৃঙ্খল < śṛŋkhala >	order

গ < g >		গ্দ < gd >	বাগ্দী < bāgdi >	a caste name
		গ্ন < gn >	রুগ্ন < rugna >	sick
		গ্ল < gl >[1]	গ্লানি < glāni >	filth
		ঙ্গ < ŋg >	বঙ্গ < baŋga >	Bengal
		গু < gu >	গুণ < guṇ >	quality
		গ্ধ < gdh >	দুগ্ধ < dugdha >	milk
ঘ < gh >	ঘ	ঘ্ন < ghn >	শত্রুঘ্ন < śatrughna >	proper name
ঙ < ŋ >		ঙ্ক < ŋk >	অঙ্ক < aŋka >	sum of mathematics
		ঙ্গ < ŋg >	অঙ্গ < aŋgŏ >	limb, part

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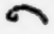
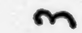
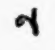
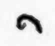
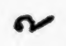
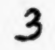
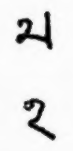
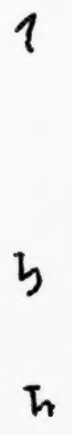
1. We could equally say that গ < g > appears in primary allographic form and দ < d >, ন < n >, and ল < l > take their secondary shapes ,  and  .

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
চ < c >	[illegible] [illegible]	ঞ্চ < ñc > চ্ঞ < cñ >	চঞ্চল < cañcal > যাচ্ঞা < yācñā >	frivolous begging
ছ < ch >	[illegible]	ঞ্ছ < ñch >	লাঞ্ছনা < lāñchanā >	torture
জ < j >	জ জ জ	জ্জ < jj > জ্ঝ < jjh > জ্ঞ < jñ > ব্জ < bj >	লজ্জা < lajjā > কুজ্ঝটিকা < kujjhaṭikā > বিজ্ঞ < bijña > কুব্জ < kubja >	shame mist wise lame

ঝ < jh >	ঝ	জ্ঝ < jjh >	কুজ্ঝটিকা < kujjhaṭikā >	mist
ঞ < ñ >	ঞ ঞ ঞ ঞ	ঞ্চ < ñc > ঞ্ছ < ñch > ঞ্জ < ñj > চ্ঞ < cñ > জ্ঞ < jñ >	অঞ্চল < añcal > লাঞ্ছনা < lāñchanā > গঞ্জনা < gañjana > যাচ্ঞা < yācñā > অজ্ঞ < ajña >	border, region torture torture begging not knowing
ট < ṭ >	ট	ট্ট < ṭṭ >	ঠাট্টা < ṭhāṭṭā >	joke
ঠ < ṭh >	ঠ	ণ্ঠ < ṇṭh >	কণ্ঠ < kaṇṭha >	neck, voice
ড < ḍ >	ড	ণ্ড < ṇḍ >	কাণ্ড < kaṇḍa >	incident

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
ঢ < ḍh >	has none			
ণ < ṇ >				
		হ্ণ < hṇ >	অপরাহ্ণ < aparāhṇa >	afternoon
		ণ্ঠ < ṇṭh >	কণ্ঠ < kaṇṭha >	neck
		ণ্ড < ṇḍ >	পণ্ডিত < paṇḍit >	pundit
		ষ্ণ < ṣṇ >	বিষ্ণু < biṣṇu >	Vishnu

ত < t >	⌒	ত্থ < tth >	অশ্বত্থ < aśbattha >	kind of tree
	৬	ক্ত < kt >	শক্তি < śakti >	power
	৬	ন্ত < nt >	শান্ত < śānta >	peaceful
		প্ত < pt >	গুপ্ত < gupta >	hidden
		স্ত < st >	পরাস্ত < parāsta >	defeated
		ত্ব < tv >	ত্বক < tbak >	skin
	৭	ত্র < tr >	ত্রাণ < trāṇ >	relief

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
থ < th >		ত্থ < tth > স্থ < sth > ন্থ < nth >	উত্থান < utthān > স্থান < sthān > গ্রন্থ < grantha >	rising place book
দ < d >		গ্দ < gd > দ্দ < dd > ন্দ < nd > দ্য < dy > দ্ব < db > দ্ধ < ddh >	বাগ্দেবী < bāgdebī > উদ্দেশ্য < uddeśya > আনন্দ < ānanda > গদ্য < gadya > দ্বীপ < dbīpa > বুদ্ধি < buddhi >	goddess of speech objective joy prose island intelligence

ধ	< dh >	ধ	গ্ধ	< gdh >	দুগ্ধ	< dugdha >	milk
			দ্ধ	< ddh >	বুদ্ধ	< buddha >	one who knows
			ন্ধ	< ndh >	অন্ধ	< andha >	blind
			ব্ধ	< bdh >	স্তব্ধ	< stabdha >	silent
		ধ্ব	দ্ধ্ব	< ddhb >	মূর্দ্ধা	< mūrddhbā >	hard palate
ন	< n >	ন	ন্ধ	< ndh >	বন্ধ	< bandha >	close
			ন্ন	< nn >	কান্না	< kānnā >	weeping
			ন্ম	< nm >	চিন্ময়	< cinnmay̱ >	one having good conscience
			ন্ব	< nb >	অন্বয়	< anbay̱ >	relation
			ন্ত	< nt >	চিন্তা	< cintā >	thought
			ন্থ	< nth >	মন্থন	< manthan >	churning
			ন্ত্র	< ntr >	যন্ত্র	< yantra >	machine
			ঘ্ন	< ghn >	বিঘ্ন	< bighna >	hindrance
			ত্ন	< tn >	যত্ন	< yatna >	care
			ম্ন	< mn >	নিম্ন	< nimna >	low
			গ্ন	< gn >	অগ্নি	< agni >	fire
			হ্ন	< hn >	চিহ্ন	< cihna >	sign

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
প < p >	প	প্ত < pt >	গুপ্ত < gupta >	a surname, hidden
		প্ল < pl >	বিপ্লব < biplab >	revolt
ফ < ph >	ফ	ষ্ফ < ṣph >	নিষ্ফল < niṣphal >	fruitless
		ম্ফ < mph >	লম্ফ < lampha >	jump
ব < b >	<	ব্জ < bj >	কুব্জ < kubja >	hunchback
		ব্দ < bd >	অব্দ < abda >	era
	ᐊ	ব্ধ < bdh >	লব্ধ < labdha >	gotten
ভ < bh >	৭	ভ্র < bhr >	শুভ্র < śubhra >	white
		ম্ভ্র < mbhr >	সম্ভ্রম < sambhram >	honour
	ড	দ্ভ < dbh >	সদ্ভাব < sadbhāb >	good relation

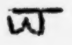
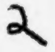
ম < m >	ম	< mp >	সম্পদ < sampad >	property
		< mph >	লম্ফ < lampha >	jump
		< mb >	বিলম্ব < bilamba >	late
		< mbh >	গম্ভীর < gambhīr >	grave
	ম	< mm >	সম্মত < sammata >	agreed
		< ṣm >	উষ্মবর্ণ < uṣmabarṇa >	spirant sound
		< sm >	ভস্ম < bhasma >	ash
	্ম	< km >	রুক্মিণী < rukminī >	a proper name
		< gm >	যুগ্ম < jugma >	coupled, doublet
		< ŋm >	বাঙ্ময় < bāŋmay̲ >	having words
		< ṇm >	হিরণ্ময় < hiraṇmay̲ >	made of gold
		< tm >	দুরাত্মা < durātmā >	evil spirit
		< dm >	পদ্ম < padma >	lotus
		< nm >	জন্ম < janma >	birth
		< lm >	গুল্ম < gulma >	shrub
		< śm >	শ্মশান < śmaśan >	burning ghat
		< hm >	ব্রাহ্মণ < brāhmaṇ >	Brahmin

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
য < y >	্য	ক্য < ky >	বাক্য < bākya >	sentence
		দ্য < dy >	গদ্য < gadya >	prose
		etc.		
র < r >	্র	ক্র < kr >	বক্র < bakra >	curved
		খ্র < khr >	খ্রীষ্টান < khrīṣṭān >	Christian
		গ্র < gr >	গ্রহণ < grahaṇ >	taking
		ঘ্র < ghr >	ঘ্রাণ < ghrāṇ >	smell
		জ্র < jr >	বজ্র < bajra >	thunder
		ড্র < ḍr >	ড্রেন < ḍren >	drain
		ত্র < tr >	গাত্র < gātra >	body

		দ্র < dr >	রৌদ্র < raudra >	sunshine
		ধ্র < dhr >	ধ্রুব < dhruba >	certain
		প্র < pr >	প্রীতি < prīti >	affection
		ফ্র < phr >	ফ্রান্স < phrāns >	France
		ব্র < br >	ব্রত < brata >	vow, religious rite
		ভ্র < bhr >	ভ্রাতা < bhrātā >	brother
		ম্র < mr >	আম্র < āmra >	mango
		শ্র < śr >	শ্রী < śrī >	beauty
		স্র < sr >	সহস্র < sahasra >	thousand
		হ্র < hr >	হ্রাস < hrās >	lessening
		র্ক < rk >	তর্ক < tarka >	debate
		র্খ < rkh >	মূর্খ < mūrkha >	illiterate
		র্গ < rg >, etc.	স্বর্গ < sbarga >	heaven

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which tne secondary allographs occur		Examples with transliteration		Meaning
ল < l >	ল	ক্ল	< kl >	ক্লান্ত	< klānta >	tired
		গ্ল	< gl >	গ্লানি	< glāni >	filth
		প্ল	< pl >	বিপ্লব	< biplab >	revolution
		ম্ল	< ml >	ম্লান	< mlān >	dim, gloomy, not glittering
		ল্ল	< ll >	ভল্লুক	< bhalluk >	bear
		শ্ল	< śl >	অশ্লীল	< aślīl >	obscene
	ল	ল্ক	< lk >	উল্কা	< ulkā >	comet
		ল্গ	< lg >	বল্গা	< balgā >	rein
		ল্প	< lp >	গল্প	< galpa >	story

শ < ś >	শ	শ্ব < śb >	অশ্ব < aśba >	horse
		শ্ল < śl >	শ্লাঘা < ślāghā >	praise, glorification
	শ	শ্চ < śc >	পুনশ্চ < punaśca >	again
	শ	শ্য < śy >	শ্যামল < śyāmal >	proper name, having the syām color
	শ	শু <śu >	আশুতোষ < āśutoṣ >	proper name, one who can be pleased soon
ষ < ṣ >	ষ	ষ্ক < ṣk >	শুষ্ক < śuṣka >	dry
		ষ্প < ṣp >	পুষ্প < puṣpa >	flower
		ষ্ফ < ṣph >	নিষ্ফল < niṣphal >	fruitless
		ষ্ম < ṣm >	উষ্মা < uṣmā >	breath
	ষ	ষ্ঠ < ṣṭh >	কাষ্ঠ < kāṣṭha >	wood
		ষ্ট < ṣṭ >	স্পষ্ট < spaṣṭa >	clear
	ষ	ষ্য < ṣy >	শিষ্য < śiṣya >	pupil

The grapheme	The secondary allographs	The graphemic clusters or combinations of consonant graphemes and vowel graphemes in which the secondary allographs occur	Examples with transliteration	Meaning
স < s >		সু < su > স্ক < sk > স্ত < st > স্থ < sth > স্ন < sn > স্ম < sm > স্খ < skh > স্প < sp > স্র < sr > স্য < sy >	সুন্দর < sundar > স্কন্ধ < skandha > স্তর < stara > স্থান < sthāna > স্নান < snāna > স্মরণ < smaraṇ > স্খলিত < skhalita > স্পষ্ট < spaṣṭa > সহস্র < sahasra > স্যন্দিত < syandita >	beautiful shoulder layer place bathing remembrance dropped clear thousand
হ < h >		হ্ম < hm >	ব্রাহ্মী < brāhmī >	name of an ancient script

4.6

The graphemes:

অ < a >

The phonemes represented:

The grapheme অ < a > has a double role. In some environments it is / ɔ /, in others it is / o /. In many cases the occurrence of either / ɔ / or / o / can be predicted from graphemic environments, but there are again a good many cases where there is no graphemic clue to obviate the difficulty of interpreting অ < a >.

4.6.1

অ is / ɔ / if the following syllable does not contain the graphemes or graphemic clusters ই < i >, ঈ < ī >, উ < u >,

ঊ < ū >, ক্ষ < kṣ >, Cṛ[1], and Cy[2]. অ preceded by the syllables having the above graphemes or graphemic clusters is / o /.

Examples:

অল্প	/ ɔlpo /	'little'
অত	/ ɔto /	'that much'
অথৈ	/ ɔthoi /	'deep, fathomless'
অমানিশা	/ ɔmaniśa /	'dark night'
অনেক	/ ɔnek /	'many'
অন্ন	/ ɔnno /	'rice, food'

but,

অতি	/ oti /	'much, very'
অনু	/ onu /	'minute particle'
অতীন্দ্র	/ otindro /	'a proper name'
অক্ষর	/ okkhor /	'syllable'
অন্য	/ onno /	'different'

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1. C stands for any consonant grapheme and ṛ here indicates the secondary allograph of the grapheme < ṛ >.

2. C is the covering symbol for any consonant grapheme and y indicates the secondary allograph of the grapheme < y >.

4.6.2

There are, however, situations where অ is / ɔ / and not / o / before ই , ঈ , উ , ঊ , ঋ , Cṛ, and Cy. These situations are predictable in terms of phonology and morphology of the language but never graphemically. Bengali has a negative prefix (ɔ+) meaning 'not, without, lacking, etc.' Besides / ɔ+ /, which is treated as the basic allomorph, the negative prefix has a number of secondary allomorphs. The basic allomorph / ɔ+ / is followed by morphemes beginning with a consonant. One of the secondary allomorphs is / ɔn /, which occurs before morphemes beginning with a vowel. The other secondary allomorphs can be represented by the formula ɔC[1], where C is identical with the first consonant of the following morpheme (i.e., the first consonant of the following morpheme and C of ɔC form a geminate cluster). Neither the /+/ of / ɔ+ / nor the C of / ɔC/ is graphemically represented. Therefore, / o /, which when written by অ is graphemically indistinguishable from / ɔ+ / and / ɔC/. Thus compare the following pairs of words, one having / ɔ / and the other having / o /. Both the vowels being written by the same grapheme অ , it becomes graphemically unpredictable where to read which of the two phonemes. The following will illustrate the difficulty involved:

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[1] There are a few disturbing cases where the negative prefix does not conform to the above allomorphic shapes, i.e., instead of / ɔ+ /, / ɔn /, and / ɔC /, we have / o /, / on /, and / oC /. Thus, / okkhor / and / onupɔm / have / o /. Probably these are the cases where analogy has interfered with the normal operation.

অন্য	/ onno /	'different'
অন্যায়	/ ɔnnæe /	'not legitimate'
অসি	/ ośi /	'sword'
অসিত	/ ɔ+śit /	'not white = black'

Though thus graphemically unpredictable, morphological clues provide means of their correct interpretation. Morphologically / onno / and / ośi / are single morphemes, but /ɔnnæe/ and /ɔ+śit/ have two morphemes each; /ɔnnæe/ is divisible into /ɔn/ and /næe/, and /ɔ+śit/ into /ɔ+/ and /śit/. /ɔn/ of /ɔnnæe/ and /ɔ+/ of /ɔ+śit/ are allomorphs of the same negative morpheme /ɔ+/. Thus the same symbol অ refers to either of the allomorphs of the negative prefix, or it may refer to /o/. The matter of correctly interpreting a particular occurrence of অ depends, in most cases, upon the reader's level of sophistication in the phonology and morphology of Bengali.

4.6.3

It is pertinent to note here that there is no graphic representation of / ɔ/ when it is post-consonantal. It is taken as inherent in the consonant grapheme that precedes it. Examples are:

কলা	/ kɔla /	'banana'
বলে	/ bɔle/	'says'

Absence of any secondary vowel allograph after a consonant grapheme could be interpreted as the place of occurrence of /ɔ/, if there were no other vowel phoneme left unwritten in the Bengali writing system. If this were the case, we could say that this tradition of not writing a particular vowel contributed to economy. Unfortunately the Bengali writing system leaves / o / also unwritten in many cases, in spite of the fact that the grapheme ও < o > (consisting of the allographs ও and ে-া) exists in the writing system and is actually used to represent / o /. Thus, the words ওজন /ojon/ and তোমার /tomar/ have the allographs ও and ে-া to represent the phoneme / o/. Whenever the grapheme < o > occurs, it represents the phoneme / o /. The converse, however, is not true; that is to say, the non-occurrence of < o > does not necessarily indicate that the inherent vowel in that particular case is / ɔ /, and not / o /. The conditioning factors that determine the phonemic value of the grapheme অ equally apply to the inherent vowel, that is to say, before the graphemes and graphemic clusters ই , ঈ , উ , ঊ , ক্ষ , Cṛ, and Cy the inherent vowel is / o /. Examples are:

বলি	/ boli /	'I say'
বলুক	/ boluk /	'let him say'
ধনী	/ dhoni /	'rich'
গরু	/ goru /	'cow'
মসৃণ	/ mossriṇ /	'level'
গদ্য	/ goddo /	'prose'
বক্ষ	/ bokkho /	'bosom'

4.6.4

The cases that are not covered by the above rule are noted below:

(i) The consonant graphemes before জ্ঞ < jn̆ > always have the inherent vowel / o /, e.g., যজ্ঞ /joggŏ/ 'a religious rite'.

(ii) The graphemic cluster Cr[1] must always have the inherent vowel /o/.[2]

Examples:

ভ্রমণ	/bhromon/	'travelling'
ক্রম	/kromo/	'order'
গ্রহ	/groho/	'planet'
ত্রস্ত	/trosto/	'afraid'

4.6.5

Following are the cases where morphological environments help us to predict the occurrence of /o/. /o/ is always inherent in the initial consonant graphemes having:

(i) Participial morpheme /-e/[3] in LCB and /ia/[4] in SB.

Examples:

LCB		SB		
করে	/kore/	করিয়া	/koria/	'having done'
বসে	/bośe/	বসিয়া	/bośia/	'having sat'

---

1. C does not include হ < h >.

2. It follows from this that the prefix common to words like প্রণাম /pronam/ 'salutation', প্রভাত /probhat/ 'morning', প্রকৃত /prokrito/ 'real', etc. is phonemically /pro/.

3. / ɔ / is inherent in the initial consonant grapheme of words having third personal present morpheme /-e/. Examples are করে /kɔre/ 'does' and বলে /bɔle/ 'says'.

4. For adequate description of these verbal suffixes see chapter on verbs.

বলে	/bole/	বলিয়া	/bolia/	'having said'
পড়ে	/poṛe/	পড়িয়া	/poṛia/	'having read'

(ii) Conditional morpheme /-le/ in LCB and /ile/[1] in SB.

Examples:

করলে	/korle/	করিলে	/korile/	'if done'
বসলে	/bośle/	বসিলে	/bośile/	'if sat'
বললে	/bolle/	বলিলে	/bolile/	'if said'
পড়লে	/poṛle/	পড়িলে	/poṛile/	'if read'

(iii) Future second or third personal desinence /-be/ in LCB and /-ibe/[2] in SB.

Examples:

করবে	/korbe/	করিবে	/koribe/	'will do'
বসবে	/bośbe/	বসিবে	/bośibe/	'will sit'
বলবে	/bolbe/	বলিবে	/bolibe/	'will say'
পড়বে	/poṛbe/	পড়িবে	/poṛibe/	'will read'

4.6.6

There are other cases where the above conditioning factors do not operate, but other factors determine the occurrence of / o /. Elements which are similar either phonologically or morphologically have in many cases similar graphemic representations.

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[1] For adequate description of these verbal suffixes see chapter on verbs.

[2] For adequate description of these verbal suffixes see chapter on verbs.

(i) It is a phonological rule in Bengali that / ɔ / can never occur finally in words of more than one syllable. / ɔ / occurs finally only in monosyllabic words. / ɔ / being understood to be inherent, these monosyllabic words are generally written only with the consonant symbols. Some people show these inherent / ɔ / of monosyllabic words with a comma in the upper right corner of the consonant symbols.

The following will illustrate these variant writings of monosyllabic words with the final / ɔ/[1]:

ব, ব'	/bɔ/	'you (inf.) carry'
স, স'	/śɔ/	'you (inf.) bear'
হ, হ'	/hɔ/	'you (inf.) become'

Monosyllabic words having final / o /[2] are consistently written with the secondary allograph [ে-া] of the grapheme < o >.

---

[1] Names of consonant letters also are monosyllables with final / ɔ /. They, however, are never written with a comma in the upper right hand corner.

[2] The phoneme / o / occurs independently as a word in Bengali. It is written as ও / o / and means 'that one'.

Examples:

শো	/śo/	'you (inf.) sleep'
তো	/to/	a function word

The evidence cited above tends to prove that the contrast between final / ɔ / and / o / of monosyllabic words is graphemically maintained.

(ii) All conjunct graphemes appearing finally in a word (i.e., before space) must have an inherent / o /.

Examples:

শুভ্র	/śubbhro/	'white'
ধর্ম	/dhɔrmo/	'religion'
মুখ্য	/mukkho/	'main'
দণ্ড	/dɔnḍo/	'punishment'
শীঘ্র	/śigghro/	'soon'
বিলম্ব	/bilɔmbo/	'late'

(iii) All words (graphemic sequences between spaces) ending with the grapheme হ < h > must have an inherent / o /.

Examples:

দেহ	/deho/	'body'

সন্দেহ	/śondeho/	'doubt'
গৃহ	/griho/	'house'

(iv) All final consonant graphemes preceded by the secondary allograph ৈ of the grapheme ঐ < ai > must have inherent / o /.

Examples:

শৈল	/śoilo/	'mountain'
দৈব	/doibo/	'divine'
তৈল	/toilo/	'oil'
হৈম	/hoimo/	'pertaining to snow'
বৈধ	/boidho/	'legitimate'

(v) Barring one or two exceptional cases, all consonant graphemes preceded by the secondary allograph ে-ৗ of the grapheme ঔ < au > must have the inherent / o /.

Examples:

গৌণ	/gouno/	'indirect'
ধৌত	/dhouto/	'washed'
মৌন	/mouno/	'silent'

Exceptions:

পৌষ	/pouś/	'a month'
গৌর	/gour/	'bright colour'

(vi) The grapheme য় < y̲ > preceded by < i, ī, e > must have the inherent vowel / o /.

Examples:

দর্শনীয়	/dɔrśonio/	'to be seen'
স্বীয়	/śio/	'one's own'
দেয়	/deo/	'to be given'
পেয়	/peo/	'to be drunk'
প্রিয়	/prio/	'dear'
স্থানীয়	/sthanio/	'local'
হেয়	/heo/	'broken down upon'

(vii) The final graphemes preceded by the grapheme < ṃ > must have the inherent / o /.

Examples:

মাংস	/maŋśo/	'meat, flesh'
বংশ	/bɔŋśo/	'ancestry'

(viii) The grapheme ঢ় < ṛh > appearing finally in a word (i.e., before space) generally carries an inherent / o /. There are, however, some exceptions.

Examples:

গাঢ়	/gaṛho/	'thick, deep'
রূঢ়	/ruṛho/	'rude'

Exceptions:

আষাঢ়	/aśaṛ/	'a month'
রাঢ়	/raṛ/	a part of ancient Bengal

(ix) The final grapheme preceded by the grapheme < ḥ > has inherent / o /.

Example:

দুঃখ	/dukkho/	'sorrow'

(x) All the final graphemes except ৎ < t̲ >[1], preceded by < ṛ > have the inherent / o /.[2]

Examples:

তৃণ	/trino/	'grass'
বৃষ	/briśo/	'ox'
মৃগ	/mrigo/	'deer'

---

1. The grapheme ৎ < t̲ > indicates that there is no post consonantal vowel after /t/, e.g., পথিকৃৎ /pothikrit/ 'pathmaker' সুহৃৎ /surhit/ 'friend'. The converse, however, is not true; that is to say, the occurrence of ত < t > does not always imply that there is an inherent vowel after it, e.g. মত /mɔt/ 'opinion'.

2. The Hindi proper name /brijmohon/ is written in some Bengali contexts as বৃজমোহন which conflicts with the pattern described here. So does সুহৃদ /śurhid/, a variant form of সুহৃৎ /śurhit/ 'friend'. A few more exceptions might be there, but in any case they are statistically negligible.

কৃশ	/kriśo/	'thin'
সদৃশ	/śɔdriśo/	'alike'
ধৃত	/dhrito/	'caught'
মৃত	/mrito/	'dead'
আবৃত	/abbrito/	'covered'
আহৃত	/ahrito/	'collected'

(xi) Tatsama words with /-to/ suffix when used as adjectives[1] are generally found to have final inherent / o /.

Examples:

পরিহিত	/porihito/	'clad'
সজ্জিত	/śojjito/	'dressed'
আশ্রিত	/assrito/	'sheltered''
অজ্ঞাত	/ɔggæto/	'unknown'
উচ্চারিত	/uccarito/	'pronounced'
লজ্জিত	/lojjito/	'ashamed'
বিক্রীত	/bikkrito/	'sold'
ভক্ষিত	/bhokkhito/	'eaten'
রক্ষিত	/rokkhito/	'kept'

---

[1] The words with /-to/ suffix which are used as nouns do not have any final inherent vowel, e.g. সঙ্গীত /śoŋgit/ 'music', মত /mɔt/ 'opinion', and ব্যাঘাত /bæghat/ 'hindrance'. The last three words in the body of the text as have been explained are adjectives and have inherent /o/. If this / o / is dropped, they become nouns. The first two as nouns are family names, and the last word /git/ as a noun means 'song'. The last four illustrations of the rule at X are words having the /-to/ suffix and are adjectives. Therefore, they also can be covered by the present rule.

পালিত	/palito/	'brought up'
গীত	/gito/	'sung'

(xii) The correlatives signifying 'quantity' have the bound morpheme /-to/. These are written with the grapheme ত < t >, the vowel / o / necessarily remaining inherent.[1]

Examples:

অত	/ɔto/	'so much'
কত	/kɔto/	'how much'
যত	/jɔto/	'as much'
তত	/tɔto/	'that much'

(xiii) Barring a few items[2], almost all the adjectives in Bengali have more than one syllable. The last syllable of adjectives may be either open or closed. As none but monosyllabic words in Bengali can have final / ɔ /, adjectives with final open syllables have vowels other than / ɔ /. All the final vowels except

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[1] At present many people show the final / o / in writing, So, besides অত , কত , যত , and তত , the forms অতো, কতো , যতো , and ততো respectively are also available.

[2] The majority of the monosyllabic adjectives ending in consonants are borrowed words, e.g., কম /kɔm/ 'less', খাস /khaś/ 'real', লাল /lal/ 'red', etc.

/ o / are graphemically represented. The final occurrence of / ɔ / being phonologically impossible in words of more than one syllable, the situation of non-occurrence of any vowel grapheme is easily interpreted as the place of occurrence of / o /. Thus ভাল , কাল , ছোট , বড় can only be read as /bhalo, kalo, choṭo, bɔṛo/.[1] This rule does not, however, apply to words written with more than two primary allographs. Thus অনেক , আজব , and সকল are phonemically /ɔnek, ajob, śɔkol/.

(xiv) Verbal suffixes have inherent / o /.[2]

Examples:

SB		CB/LCB	
করিল	/korilo/	করল	/korlo/
করিত	/korito/	করত	/korto/
করিয়াছিল	/koriachilo/	করেছিল	/korechilo/
করিতেছিল	/koritechilo/	করছিল	/korchilo/
করিতেছ	/koritecho/	করছ	/korcho/
করিয়াছ	/koriacho/	করেছ	/korecho/
করিব	/koribo/	করব	/korbo/

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[1] The practice of writing /o/ is also noticed. It is hard to predict which of the two competitive forms will survive.

[2] For verbal suffixes in SB and CB/LCB and their mutual comparisons, see chapter on verbs.

4.6.7

In the following cases the occurrence of the inherent vowel / o / or its absence can be determined morphosyntactically:

(1) The graphemic sequences like কর, ধর, বল, গেল < kar, dhar, bal, gel > can be read as either /kɔro, dhɔro, bɔlo, gelo/, or as /kɔr, dhɔr, bɔl, gel/ depending on the subject of the sentence. If the subject is তুমি /tumi/ (second person ordinary pronoun), the first series will apply, but if the subject is তুই /tui/ (third person inferior pronoun), the second series will apply.

4.6.8

If in a sequence of three primary graphemes the medial one is not followed by any secondary vowel allograph, under the following circumstances it may be interpreted that the medial primary grapheme has an inherent / o /[1]:

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[1] There is a tendency to preserve / ɔ / in learned words, especially those not used at all or very rarely used in the colloquial speech. The learned words can hardly be specified with any amount of general validity, because no two persons can be said to have the same repetoire of colloquial vocabulary. Thus, an item having colloquial status in an individual's vocabulary may be treated as learned by others.

(i) if the initial grapheme is অ < a > or if the initial grapheme is not followed by any secondary vowel allograph (that is to say, if the initial grapheme has an inherent / ɔ /).

Examples:

অমল	/ɔ+mol/	'a proper name'
কলস	/kɔloś/	'jar'
সকল	/śɔkol/	'all'
বরণ	/bɔron/	'welcome'
স্মরণ	/śɔ̃ron/	'remembrance, memory'

(ii) if the initial grapheme is আ < ā > or is followed by the secondary allograph of this grapheme.

Examples:

আসল	/aśol/	'real'
কারণ	/karon/	'reason'
বাসন	/baśon/	'utensil'
যাতনা	/jatona/	'misery'

(iii) if the initial grapheme is either ই < i > or ঈ < ī >[1] or is followed by the secondary allographs of these graphemes.

Examples:

ইতর	/itor/	'mean'
ঈগল	/igol/	'eagle'
ভীষণ	/bhiśon/	'fearful'
পিতল	/pitol/	'brass'
ভিতর	/bhitor/	'within'
শিকড়	/śikoṛ/	'root'

(iv) if the initial grapheme is followed by the allographic sequence ্যা (the first member of the sequence belongs to the grapheme য < y > and the last to the grapheme আ < ā >).

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[1] Items belonging to this pattern of graphemic sequence do not yield to any rigorous formulation and, therefore, no systematic description can be given. The examples cited are SB and LCB pronunciations of the majority. In CB the items পিতল , ভিতর , and শিকড় may be pronounced as /petol, bhetor, and śekoṛ/, but the others are not different from SB and LCB. The CB pronunciation of /petol, bhetor, śekoṛ/ are represented by some writers in LCB, by writing them as পেতল , ভেতর , and শেকড় , but in this garb they can never occur in SB. There are a good number of items conforming to the described pattern of graphemic sequence which are exclusively written and never used colloquially. These exclusively written items have inherent / ɔ / for some readers, for others the inherent vowel is / o /. Thus কিরণ 'rays' is /kirɔn/ for some, and /kiron/ for others.

Examples:

গ্যালন	/gælon/	'gallon'
শ্যামল	/śæmol/	'a proper name'
শ্যালক	/śælok/	'brother-in-law'

(v) if the initial grapheme is এ < e >[1] or is followed by the secondary allograph of this grapheme.

Examples:

এঁচড়	/ẽcoṛ/	'green jack fruit'
বেতন	/beton/	'salary'
সেবক	/śebok/	'one who serves'
যেমন	/jæmon/	'the like of'

(vi) if the initial grapheme is either উ < u > or ঊ < ū > or is followed by the secondary allographs of these graphemes.

Examples:

উপর	/upor/	'up'
উপল	/upol/	'pebbles'
ঊষর	/uśor/	'barren'
গুমট	/gumoṭ/	'stuffy'

---

[1] The grapheme এ < e > is phonemically either /e/ or /æ/.

গুমর	/gumor/	'vanity'
শূকর	/śukor/	'pig'

4.7

The graphemes:

আ < a >

The phonemes represented:

1. The allographs of the grapheme আ < ā > stand for the phoneme /a/.

Examples:

আম	/am/	'mango'
আমার	/amar/	'mine'

2. The allograph া , in addition to its normal function of representing /a/, has a subsidiary role. The secondary allograph ্য of the grapheme < y > being followed by া jointly represent / æ /.[1]

Examples:

ব্যাধি	/bædhi/	'disease'
গ্যাস	/gæś/	'gas'

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[1] / æ / is also represented by   alone, e.g., ব্যয় /bæe/ 'expenditure'.

4.7.1
ই < i >

1. The grapheme < i > represents /i/.

Examples:

ইলিশ	/iliś/	'kind of fish'
খাই	/khai/[1]	'I eat'

4.7.2
ঈ < ī >[2]

1. Graphemically there are contrasts between the allographs of < i > and < ī >, though phonemically both are /i/.

Examples:

ঈশ্বর	/iśśɔr/	'God'
নদী	/nodi/	'river'

Note the phonemic identity, but the graphemic contrast between < i > and < ī >.

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[1] The final components of diphthongs (except in the case of /oi/ and /ou/) are presented by the primary graphemes ই , উ , ও , and য় .

[2] There are instances of partial free variation between the graphemes ই < i > and ঈ < ī >. For instance, /bari/ is found to be written either as বাড়ি <bāṛi> or বাড়ী <bāṛī>.

দিন	/din/	'day'
দীন	/din/	'poor'

4.7.3

উ < u >

1. The allographs of < u > represent /u/.

Examples:

উত্তর	/uttor/	'answer, north'
ফুল	/phul/	'flower'

4.7.4

ঊ < ū >

1. Though there are graphemic contrasts between the allographs of < u > and < ū >, they are both phonemically /u/.

Examples:

ঊষা	/uša/	'morning, a proper name'
ঊষর	/ušor/	'barren'
ভূত	/bhut/	'ghost'

Note the graphemic contrast but the phonemic identity between < u > and < ū >:

কুল	/kul/	'ancestry'
কূল	/kul/	'bank'

4.7.5.

ঋ < ṛ >

1. The allographs of < ṛ > represent the syllable /ri/.

Examples:

ঋতু	/ritu/	'season'
পৃথক	/prithok/	'different'

4.7.6

এ < e >

1. The grapheme < e > plays a double phonemic role, and hence may be called a multivalued grapheme. It represents the phonemes /e/ and /æ/[1], the occurrence of /e/ can be predicted if the grapheme next to

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[1] The representation of /æ/ has introduced a considerable number of deviant spellings. In this connection see the discussion regarding the secondary allograph of the grapheme আ < ā >, as well as the discussion on the secondary allograph ্য of the grapheme য < y >.

< e > is followed by ই , ঈ , উ ঊ , .

Examples:

বেচি	/beci/	'I sell'
বেশী	/beśi/	'much'
বেগুন	/begun/	'eggplant'
কেয়ূর	/keuur/	'an ornament'
এই	/ei/	'this one'
কেউ	/keu/	'somebody'

2. If the grapheme next to < e > is followed by vowel graphemes other than ই < i >, ঈ < ī >, উ < u >, ঊ < ū >[1] the predictability described above is lost, because in such environment either /e/ or /æ/ can occur. Thus, বেলা <belā> is either /bæla/ 'time' or /bela/ 'kind of flower', according to the context.

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[1] This predictability follows from certain phonological restrictions. These are: (a) Bengali phonology does not allow /æ/ and /i/ in two consecutive syllables, (b) neither does it allow the occurrence of /æ/ and /u/ in contiguous syllables.

It should be mentioned, however, that there are not many pairs of items as above, one contrasting with the other phonemically but lacking in graphemic contrast. Most often there is but one possibility and this is predetermined for native readers who already know the spoken form of the written item. Thus the native reader knows that <khelā, kemon, eto> must be /khæla, kæmon, æto/, because /khela, kemon, eto/ are not Bengali words. Similarly, he knows that < kenā, ceno, pher > can only be /kena, ceno, pher/, because there are no such words as /kæna, cæno, phær/.

The allograph ে occurring finally is always /e/.[1]

Examples:

সে	/śe/	'he'
কে	/ke/	'who'
দে	/de/	'you (inf.) give'
বোনে	/bone/	'weaves'

---

[1] Words of more than one syllable can never end in /æ/. Some readers attempt to pronounce tatsama words like কাম্যা, কন্যা, অনন্যা, etc. with final /æ/, but this is not very normal pronunciation and can be labelled as Sanskritization. Monosyllabic words ending in /æ/ (e.g., bhæ̃, ṭæ̃ etc.) are invariably written with ্যা .

মাঝে	/majhe/	'in the middle'
বাড়ীতে	/baṛite/	'in the house'

4.7.7.

ঐ < ai >

1. The allographs of ঐ < ai > represent the phonemic sequence /oi/.

Examples:

ঐ	/oi/	'that'
গৈরিক	/goirik/	'saffron'

4.7.8

ও < o >

1. The allographs of ও < o > stand for the phoneme /o/.[1]

Examples:

ও	/o/	'that one'
কোন	/kon/	'angle'

4.7.9.

ঔ < au >

1. The allographs of ঔ < au >

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[1] The absence of the grapheme < o >, however, does not indicate the absence of /o/.

stand for the phonemic sequence /ou/.

Examples:

ঔষধ	/ouśɔd/	'medicine'
গৌণ	/gouno/	'indirect'

Phonology

1.1 Standard Bengali has a phonemic inventory of forty nine units that are analyzable on the lexical base. They are: seven oral vowels (i e æ u o ɔ a), seven nasal vowels (ĩ ẽ æ̃ ũ õ ɔ̃ ã), four semi-vowels (y ỹ w w̃) and thirty one consonants. The consonants include ten unaspirated stops (k c ṭ t p g j ḍ d b), ten aspirated stops (kh ch ṭh th ph gh jh ḍh dh bh), two flaps (r ṛ), one aspirated flap (ṛh), one lateral (l), three nasals (ŋ n m) and four fricatives (s š z h). No consonants behave as syllabic in this language.

1.2 Three of the forty nine phonemes do not appear in the mass standard. These are: s, z, and ṛh. s however appears often in the English-oriented-group standard. English loan words each have two variants, e.g.,

Mass Standard	Group Standard	
baš	bas	'bus'
išṭešon~išṭešan	sṭešan	'station'

z appears in Perso-Arabic loan words among speakers of another group standard, e.g.

Mass Standard	Group Standard
jɔbor	zɔbor
mejaj	mezaz ~ mizaz

It should be noted here that the free variations s ~ š and j ~ z are present in the Bengali of the Mass Standard.

ṛh is found in use in a group standard which is heavily oriented toward Sanskrit, e.g.

Mass Standard	Group Standard
guṛo	guṛho
ruṛo	ruṛho

2.0 Relative Frequency

2.1 Several randomly selected pages of three works show the following count of the number of occurences of each phoneme of Bengali in written texts. The works screened were:

Praphulla by Girischandra Ghosh;
Chandoguru Rabīndranāth by Prabodhchandra Sen;
Ādhunikā, *Pañcatantra* (Desh, 33:3; Nov.20, 1965) by Sayid Mujtaba Ali.

2.2

Rank	Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage	Subtotal	Total
1	ɔ	1,351	11.2		
2	e	1,144	9.5		
3	a	1,085	9.0		
4	ṛ	860	7.1		
5	i	839	6.9		
6	n	801	6.6		
				50.3	
7	k	532	4.4		
(8)	m	470	3.9		
(9)	t	470	3.9		
10	b	429	3.5		
11	ɔ	420	3.49		
12	u	409	3.4		
13	š	362	3.0		
14	d	329	2.7		
15	l	319	2.6		
16	j	258	2.1		
17	p	219	1.8		
18	yæ	209	1.7		
19	kh	181	1.5		
20	ch	167	1.4		
(21)	g	139	1.1		
(22)	ṭ	138	1.1		
(23)	h	133	1.1		
(24)	æ	129	1.1		
				43.79	

Rank	Phoneme	Frequency	Percentage	Subtotal	Total
25	c	111	.92		
26	th	100	.81		
27	ẏ	80	.68		
28	bh	72	.60		
29	ṛ	51	.43		
30	ẇ	50	.42		
31	ḍ	50	.42		
32	v̆	50	.42		
33	dh	48	.40		
34	gh	21	.18		
35	ŋ	20	.17		
36	ph	20	.17		
37	w	19	.15		
38	ḍh	18	.14		
				5.91	
39	jh	0	.00		
40	ṭh	0	.00		
41	s	0	.00		
42	z	0	.00		
43	ṛh	0	.00		
				.00	
					100.00

Note that jh and ṭh do not appear in the texts we have scrutinized. This seems to be a coincidence: jhũki, jhõk, jhanu, majhi, bujhano, etc. and ṭhik, ṭhakur, kaṭh, maṭh, etc. are quite common in the language. s, z and ṛh belong to group standards; and as such these appear only occasionally in Standard Bengali.

Taking these facts into account, phonemes 39 to 43, which do not appear in the scrutinized texts, may have some frequency of occurence in the language; and these may be added to the last rank group (phonemes 25 to 38).

2.3 Accordingly, a revised estimate may be given as follows:

Rank group	Phonemes	Projected Percentage
A	1-6	50
B	7-24	43
C	25-43	7
		100 °/o total

3.1 Vowels

There are 7 oral and 7 nasal vowels, transcribed here as

i u ĩ ũ
e o ẽ õ
æ ɔ æ̃ ɔ̃
a ã

/i/ is high front unrounded as for example in /tili/ 'oil seller' /churi/ 'knife' /cabi/ 'keys' /kichu/ 'some' /gita/ 'the Gita'. It is quite like the monophthongal variety of the tense vowel of English such as in fee, beet, and never as low as the short lax vowel of fit, bitter, and is the same as the IPA Cardinal Vowel [i].

/e/ is mid front unrounded as for example in /phite/ 'tape' /jore/ 'fast, strongly' /baje/ 'worthless' /beni/ pigtails' /mejo/ 'next younger than the oldest' /neša/ 'addiction, intoxication'. It is lower than the lax vowel of fit, bitter, but higher than the first part of the diphthong in English fate, baiter, and is the same as IPA Cardinal [e].

/æ/ is low front unrounded as for example in /bikkhæto/ 'famous' /kukkhæto/ 'notorious' /khæti/ 'fame' /mæla/ 'to spread'. It is somewhat lower than the lax vowel of English *fat*, *batter*, and is half way between IPA Cardinal [æ] and [a].

/a/ is low central unrounded, for example in /bicar/ 'judgement' /udaš/ 'uninterested' /acar/ 'customs, pickles' /dhalu/ 'sloped'. It is rather more front than the English vowel in *father*, *spa*, and is half way between IPA Cardinal [a] and [a].

/u/ is high back rounded, for example in /baju/ 'arm' /meru/ 'geographic or magnetic pole' /thutu/ 'spit' /šugɔm/ 'accessible'. It is like the monophthongal variety of the vowel in *boo*, and is the same as IPA Cardinal [u].

/o/ is mid back rounded, for example in /aro/ 'still more' /kilo/ 'kilogram' /dhulo/ 'dust' /jodi/ 'if' /joṛa/ 'a pair' /bon/ 'sister, forest'. It is higher than the lax vowel of *put*, *foot*, but lower than the first part of the diphthong of *no*, *goes*, and is the same as IPA Cardinal [o].

/ɔ/ is low back rounded, for example in /birɔl/ 'sparse' /šomɔy/ 'time' /kɔdin/ 'how many days, a few days' /pɔn/ 'dowry, vow'. It is lower than the vowel of *law*, *caught*, but differs from some American varieties of the vowel of *hot*, *log* only by addition of lip rounding. It is the same as IPA Cardinal [ŋ].

Lip rounding extends on both sides of the vowel to cover the entire syllable, and is almost as distinctive as the rise of the back part of the tongue. This is in contrast to the redundancy and frequent omission of lip rounding in the back vowels of English.

3.2 All the vowels may occur unstressed, in contrast to the situation in English, where at most 3 unstressed short vowels match 6 stressed short vowels, e.g., *guerilla*, *gorilla*, *China*, versus *pit*, *pet*, *pat*, *putt*, *put*, *pot*. Also, the unstressed short vowels of English, whether 3 or 2 or 1, are only doubtfully syllabic, that is, not clearly distinct from semivowels.

All the vowels are remarkably free from any use of the more central areas of the roof, and also from allophonic variations of the kind tied to specifiable environments.

Assimilation of foreign vowels is strongly influenced by the English spelling. The schwa is rendered as /i e o a/ depending on whether the preceding vowel is front or back or central, ~~high or low~~; e.g. /kæpṭen/ 'captain' /moṭor/ 'motor' /ɔparešan/ 'operation' /ṭebil/ 'table' /kušon/ 'cushion' /phæšan/ 'fashion'.

The vowel /æ/ is of low frequency and is also of low functional load compared with /e/. There are important dialects of Bengali for which /æ/ is marginal or even absent, as a phoneme.

The vowel /ɔ/ is of only slightly less low frequency and varies morphophonemically with /o/ in a large number of words, e.g. /šomɔy ~ šomoy/ 'time' /opor ~ upor ~ upɔr/ 'on top'. There are important dialects for which /o/ is marginal.

3.3 Nasalization of vowels, transcribed here as /Ṽ/, is contrastive if not immediately before or after a nasal consonant. It does not occur phonemically in syllables other than the first of a lexical stem, though the stem with nasalization of the first syllable may occur unstressed in a stress group. Examples: /nam/, less commonly /nãm/, 'name' /ma/, less commonly /mã/, 'mother' /am/, less commonly /ãm/, 'mangoes' /gõšai/ "Vaishnava preceptor' /lalbãdh/ 'the Red Lake (a historic place)' /bãdh/ ' a dike, a lake'.

Nasalization affects the vowel by the opening of the velic to the nose passage and does not involve any movement of the tongue. It is useful for a speaker of English to think of it as a syllable final *m* without lip closure. Contrasts: /gã/ 'village' /ga/ 'body surface' /gaŋ/ 'river' /gan/ 'song' /hã/ 'opening of mouth' /ham/ 'measles' /bãdha/ 'tied up' /bɔndho/ 'shut' /bãka/ 'bent' /ɔŋko/ 'mathematics' /ṭhunko/ 'fragile' /cɔmkano/ 'to startle' /bĩdh/ 'punch hole' /hẽ/ 'yes' /kũj/ 'humpback' /bõca/ 'snub nosed'.

3.4 All Bengali vowels are pure monophthongs, that is, without movement of tongue and chest during the hold time. The greatest difference from English is however in the role of a vowel within the syllable and stress group. It is possible in Bengali to have a vowel alone constitute a syllable and even a stress group, e.g. /e/ 'this' /o/ 'yonder' ; in English there is always some sort of movement building up or building down the state, so that only an unstressed syllable can be constituted by a vowel alone, and so that a stressed syllable manifests a structural zero syllable initial as a glottal stop and a structural zero syllable final as a homorganic and often prolonged nonsyllabic vowel. Bengali /e/ 'this' is not [? æ I̭] or even [? e ḙ].

4.0 Semivowels

4.1 The four consonantalized vowels do not occur initially in the initial syllable of a word. These occur in association with a pure vowel.

The semivowels are /ẏ ẇ Y W/ and are phonetically nonsyllabic counterparts of /i u e o/, e.g. /daẏ ~ dhaẏ/ 'midwife' /dai/ 'responsible' /daY/ 'responsibility' /phaẇ/ 'lagniappe' /phawi/ 'just the lagniappe' /tauy/ 'brother's father-in-law' /jaẇ/ 'gruel' /jaW/ 'you go' /šo/ 'you (familiar) lie down' /šoW/ 'you (ordinary) lie down' /šowbhaggo/ 'good luck' /phite/ 'tape' /phitey/ 'just the tape' /phiteY/ 'by the tape' /e/ 'this' /ey/ 'now, here'.

The distinction of /ẏ ẇ Y W/ from /i e u o/ is quite marginal, but real. Any contrary supposition would have to explain away forms like /mee/ (two syllables without transitional glide) 'girl' /dai/ 'responsible'. It is possible that in closely related obsolescent or less urban dialects one might get /me~meYe/ and /day~daYi/ so that the four semivowels would not have to be recognized as contrastive.

Nondistinctive clusters occur with a semivowel as first member, e.g. [naYggra] 'the Niagara' [roẇddro] 'sunshine', and are structuralized as /naYgra, roẇdro/ etc.

5.0 Consonants

Thirty one simple consonants are distinguished:

	ph		p	bh		b	m		
h									
	kh		k	gh		g	ŋ		
								ṛ	ṛh
	ṭh		ṭ	ḍh		ḍ			
							n	l	r
	th		t	dh		d			
Š		s			z				
	ch		c	jh		j			

/ph p bh b m/ are bilabial stops, though /ph/ in all positions and /bh/ after a vowel may freely be fricative. Fricative /ph bh/ are similar to English f and v with the difference that the lower lip is not drawn inwards, e.g. /phul/ 'flower' /pul/ 'bridge' /bhul/ 'error' /bulbul/ 'nightingale' /šaphay/ 'exoneration' /capa/ 'reserved, covered' /abha/ 'radiance' /baba/ 'father' /mul/ 'root' /tama/ 'copper'.

/kh k gh g ŋ/ are dorsoprevelar stops, never fricative, e.g. /khol/ 'oily dirt' /kol/ 'lap' /ghol/ 'buttermilk' /gol/ 'round' /pakha/ 'fan, wing' /paka/ 'ripe' /bagha/ 'formidable (like tiger)' /bagan/ 'garden' /raŋa/ 'colorful, red'. The contact of tongue is distinctly more to the front of the roof than for English k and g;

compare for example English cool Bengali /kul/ 'plum'. Hindi /x g̲/ are assimilated as Bengali /kh g/, e.g. /khatir/ 'honour' /gaeb/ 'out of public view'.

/ṭh ṭ ḍh ḍ/ are retroflex apico-alveolar stops, in contrast to British t and d, which are nonretroflex apico-alveolar, as well as to American t and d, which are laminopalatal. The underside of the tip of the tongue contacts the upper gums, e.g. /ṭhaṭ/ 'style' /ṭaṭ/ 'woven bamboo splits' /ṭal/ 'balance' /ḍhal/ 'shield' /ḍal/ 'bough, soup' /aṭha/ 'glue' /aṭa/ 'unbleached flour' /beḍiŋ/ 'bedding'. English t, d are assimilated as /ṭ ḍ/, e.g. /briṭiš/ 'British' /ḍram/ 'drum'.

/th t dh d/ are apicodental stops, made by the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth, e.g. /thal/ 'plate' /tal' 'rhythm' /tar/ 'wire' /dhar/ 'loan' /dar/ 'door' /matha/ 'head' /pata/ 'leaf' /badha/ 'hindrance' /kada/ 'mud'.

/ch c jh j/ are laminopalatal affricated stops, distinctly more front both on the tongue and on the roof than English ch and j, as well as

never pure fricative or rounded in lips or grooved on tongue, e.g. /chal/ 'skin' /cal/ 'uncooked but husked rice' /jhal/ 'hot in taste' /jal/ 'a net' /gocha/ 'bunch' /moca/ 'banana flower' /bojha/ 'a burden, to understand' /boja/ 'stuffed up'.

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative, with friction rather more prominent than in English h, e.g. /hat/ 'hand' /hiŋ/ 'asafoetida' /hul/ 'a sting' /šahoš/ 'courage'.

/š/ is a voiceless laminopalatal hushing sibilant, made by the part of the tongue between tip and center against the lower hard palate; more back on both tongue and roof than English sh, and never either rounded in lips or retroflexed, e.g. /šada/ 'white' /aša/ 'hope, to come'.

/s z/ are voiceless and voiced laminopalatal hissing sibilants, never retroflexed. Both are confined to recent loan words from Hindi or English but may occur in neighboring dialects as variants of /ch j/ respectively, e.g. 'siks~chikch/ 'six' /soḍa/ 'soda' /zip/ 'zip' /zu~ju/ 'zoo'.

/ṛ/ is retroflex apicodomal downward flapped fricative, medially open. e.g. /paṛa/ 'neighborhood' /gaṛu/ 'a kind of water jug for use in latrines' /cuṛi/ 'bangles for wearing on the forearm'.

/r/ is apicoalveolar upward flapped fricative, medially open and never retroflex. e.g. /para/ 'to be able to do it' /curi/ 'theft' /goru/ 'cow'.

/n l/ are nasal and lateral apicoalveolar stops, made with the tip against the upper gums. /l/ is never made with the center or the back of the tongue against the hard or the soft palate as the English l frequently is, e.g. /nana/ 'sundry' /lala/ 'saliva' /ṭana/ 'to pull, a drawer' /pala/ 'a turn to do something'.

/ph kh ṭh th ch bh gh ḍh dh jh/ are aspirated stops, that is, are immediately followed by a voiceless puff of breath. English aspirated stops are, however, assimilated as unaspirated ones, e.g. /koṭ/ 'coat'.

/bh gh ḍh dh jh b g ḍ d j z m ŋ ṛ r n l/ are voiced, that is, are accompanied and also, unlike the English b, g, d etc., often slightly anticipated by a humming vibration in the larynx.

Distinctive clusters at initial occur with /r/ as the last member, often omitted in casual speech if nothing precedes the consonant immediately before it, e.g. /prothom~pothom/ 'first' /laybreri~layberi/ 'library' /stri/ 'wife' /driṛo/ 'firm' /hridɔY/ 'heart' /mrittu/ 'death' /nritto/ 'dance'.

Distinctive clusters occur also with /l/ as last member, never omitted, but vulgarly separated by a vowel, e.g. /mlan/ 'dim, faded' /klanto/ 'tired' /hladini/ 'generatrix of delight' /klip~kilip/ 'clip' /beloari/ 'blowery' /blu~bulu/ 'blue' /gelaS~glas/ 'a drinking glass'.

Non-distinctive clusters occur regularly with any continuant as one of the members, e.g. [bipplɔb] 'political revolution' [pattro] 'pot or pan' [bhappṣa] 'foggy' [rɔttno] 'gem' [bɔzzro] 'thunder' [bissri] 'ugly'. These cases fall into two different groups. If the cluster is one permitted as word initial, such as /pl, tr/ etc., then the variation is morphophonemic and there is freedom of choice to transcribe either /biplɔb, patro/ etc. or /bipplɔb, pattro/ etc. If it is not, then the structural transcription is /bhapša, rɔtno, bɔzro, bisri/ etc.

Distinctive clusters occur also with /s/, never with /š/, as the first member, but only at stress group initial, vulgarly replaced by syllable final /š/ and a preceding vowel /i/ e.g. /sphuliŋgo/ 'a spark' /skhɔlon/ 'a slip' /sthul/ 'crude, blunt' /skul~iškul/ 'school' /stup/ ' a heap' /snan~can/ 'to have a bath' /slɔth/ 'slack' /srot/ 'a current' /spiḍ~išpiḍ/ 'speed' /sṭešan~išṭišan/ 'station (rail)'.

Aspiration and /h/ after a vowel are not stable in closely related dialects, and this fact is often reflected by free variations such as /kɔtha~kɔta/ 'word, matter, subject, idea' /šudhu~šudu/ 'merely' /ghghu~ghugu/ 'dove, shrewd person' /šaheb~šaeb/ 'persianized or anglicized gentlemen' /cehara~ceara/ 'physiognomy'.

/ŋ ṛ/ do not occur as word initials, or in clusters, except in certain dialects.

6.0 Restrictive use of the syllable final consonants.

6.1 ŋ ṛ ṛh do not occur initially. ḍ occurs medially only as a geminate (aspirated or unaspirated) and ḍ occurs only in loan words, e.g. boḍḍo 'very much', daḍḍhota 'strength', roḍ 'road', etc.

Other features are noted below.

6.2 /th t dh d/ are assimilated before /ch c jh j/, e.g. /šat/ 'seven' /šaccolliš/ 'forty-seven' /šajjon/ 'seven persons' /bad jabe~bajjabe/ 'will be excluded'.

/ch c jh j/ are casually replaced by /s z/ before /ṭ th t dh d r n l/, and by /š/ before /s/, e.g. /pãc/ 'five' /pãsṭa/ 'five units' /pãsrat/ 'five nights' /pãzdin/ 'five days' /bachto~basto/ 'used to sort' /bachlo~baslo/ 'did sort' /bujhto~buzto/ 'used to understand' /bujhlo~buzlo/ 'did understand' /raja/ 'king' /razdhani/ 'capital town' /baj~bozro/ 'thunder' /pãššo/ 'five hundred' /raššay~rajšahi/ 'Rajshahi (a town)'.

6.3 /š/ is regularly replaced by /s/ before /t/, e.g. /aša/ 'to come' /asto/ 'used to come, entire' /aste/ 'in order to come, slowly or gently'.

/s z/ occur only in loan words or as expected variants of /ch c jh j š/, e.g. /bas/ 'a bus' /phiz~phis~bhis/ 'fees'. It is easy to reconstruct a historically prior state without /s z/, and there are closely related dialects with a laminoalveolar /š/.

6.4 /r/ is replaced casually by the geminate of the succeeding consonant if any, except before /ph p bh b kh k gh g/, e.g. /car/ 'four' /cajjon/ 'four persons' /caddin/ 'four days' /caššer/ 'four seers (approximately 8.5 lbs.)' /caṭṭe/ 'four units' /korte~kotte/ 'in order to do' /korlam~kollam/ 'I did' /korchi~kocci/ 'I am doing it' /tomar nam~toman nam/ 'your name'.

6.5 /h/ occurs only as modification of zero under a vocal qualifier, and is replaced in compounds by the geminate of the succeeding consonant, e.g. /ba~bah/ 'bravo' /æ~æh/ 'Ugh'. /šɔrridɔY/ 'one with heart' /bɔhorɔmpur~bɔrɔmpur/ 'Berhampore'.

6.6 Aspiration is unstable, reflected by such variations as /rakha/ 'to keep' /raga/ 'to get angry' /rakchi/ 'I am keeping it, I am getting angry' /pɔth/ 'path' /pɔd/ 'post' /pɔtṭa/ 'that path, that post' /rɔphtani~rɔptani/ 'export'.

An expected /bh/ is replaced by /w~W/ before geminate, e.g. /biwbhɔl/ 'confused' /aWbhan/ 'call'.

6.7 Voicing is not contrastive for stops occuring before voiced stop, and is determined by the succeeding stop, e.g. /æk/ 'one' /ægdin/ 'one day' /pɔth/ 'path' /pɔthgullo~pɔdgulo/ 'paths' /dudh/ 'milk' /dutṭuku/ 'that little bit of milk' /aṭ/ 'eight' /aḍbar/ 'eight times'.

A slightly substandard but quite parallel phenomenon is /z/, a voiced conditioned variant of /š/ occurant before /b/, e.g. /aša/ 'to come' /ašbe~azbe/ 'will come'.

7.0 Syllable division

7.1 Gemination is contrastive if between vowels, e.g. /kana/ 'blind in one eye' /kanna/

'weeping' /pala/ 'turn to do something' /palla/ 'reach, stage' /kẵca/ 'unripe' /kẵcca/ 'obsolete type of measuring unit' /šuji/ 'cream of wheat' /šujji/ 'sun'.

7.2 Syllable structure is as follows

(C) V (C) for Mass and Group Standards

(c) (c) (c) v (j)

(a) $\left.\begin{matrix}C\\J\end{matrix}\right\}\ V\ \left\{\begin{matrix}C\\J\end{matrix}\right.$ for Mass and Group Standards

(b) $\left.\begin{matrix}(c)(c)(c)\\J\end{matrix}\right\}\ V\ (J)\quad (c)$ non-final for Group Standard

(c) $\left.\begin{matrix}(c)(c)\\J\end{matrix}\right\}\ V\ \left\{\begin{matrix}c\\J\end{matrix}\right.$ final for Group Standard

(d) $\left.\begin{matrix}(c)(c)\\J\end{matrix}\right\}\ V\ \left\{\begin{matrix}(c)\ (c)\\J\end{matrix}\right.$ final for Group Standard (English loan)

c = any consonant

v = any vowel

j = any semivowel

Aspirated consonants are symbolized as C.

Intonation

The breaks.

Four significant phonological breaks are found in Bengali:

Final pause, written / ≠ /, is a stretch of silence accompanied by a relaxation of the articulatory muscles.

Tentative pause, written /=/, is a state of suspense, during which there is no relaxation of the articulatory muscles, even if there is no perceptible movement. There may be a stretch of silence, or there may be a continuation of voicing from a preceding voiced consonant or vowel.

Juncture, written /+/, is a momentary dip in loudness accompanied by a momentary spurt in speed. The loudness falls and rises and falls again. The speed rises and falls and rises again. But there is no perceptible stretch of silence, and no glottal stop.

Syllable division, written /./, is a dip in the chest pulse. It is not a unit of duration in Bengali. There are two phenomena which need to be mentioned, though. An /s/ after a pause or juncture and before a consonant may show a syllable pulse without being counted as a structurally separate syllable. A nasal consonant after a vowel and before a tentative pause may show a syllable pulse without being counted as a separate syllable. The rationale for excluding these is the entire lack of utilization in morphology.

In Bengali, there is a contrast between closed syllables, i.e. those which end on a consonant or semivowel, and open syllables, i.e. those which end on a nuclear vowel. This is different from the case in English, for which all stressed syllables are closed, and a nuclear vowel may not occur immediately before syllable division. For example, Bengali /ṭaka/ is phonetically ['$\overset{\ll}{\text{t}}$a.$\overset{\ll}{\text{k}}$a], while English Tucker is either ['$\overset{>}{\text{t}}$ha$\overset{>}{\text{k}}$.ə$\overset{>}{\text{ṛ}}$] or ['$\overset{>}{\text{t}}$ha$\overset{>}{\text{k}}$.k$\overset{>}{\text{ṛ}}$]. Loanwords from English change the syllable division placement, e.g. 'post office' is in Bengali /pos.ṭa.piš/.

Syllable division is predictable according to the following rules, and will therefore be omitted from the transcription in the ensuing text.

/V.V/ when /V/ stands for any vowel, e.g. /pri.o/ 'dear' /bi.e/ 'marriage, wedding'

/V.CV/ when /C/ stands for any consonant, whether plosive or continuant, e.g. /ṭa.ka/ 'money' /ma.la/ 'garland'

/VC.CV/, e.g. /mal.la/ 'sailor crew' /poš.ṭa. piš/

/VC.CCV/, e.g. /mon.tri/ 'cabinet minister'

/VJ.V/ when /J/ stands for a semivowel, e.g. /haw.a/ 'wind, breeze' /chay.a/ 'shadow'

/VJ.CV/, e.g. /ay.na/ 'mirror' /a.o.ta/ 'jurisdiction' /toy.ri/ 'prepared' /cow.ṭha/ 'the fourth day'

The former three breaks may be contrasted in such an example as follows:

```
 2      2     2 2̄   2     1    2       2    2̄
/æ:k nibiṛ + 'ɔro:nno chilo ≠ tate chilo + bɔṛo

  2̄      1̲       2    2       3       2 3
bɔṛo + 'bɔ̄::ṭ ≠ šari šari + 'ta::l + tɔma::l ≠

  2 3       3  2    2̄      3 3     2      2̄
'paha::ṛ + pɔrbot ≠ a::r chilo = choṭo nodi +

  2  1 1̲
'ma:linī ≠ /
```

'There was a dense forest. In it there were many trees, rows after rows of tall slender trees, high and low hills, and there was the little river Malini.'

The following pun depends on juncture placement:

2 3 3 1
/prithibiṭa + 'ka:r bɔiš ≠ /

'Who rules the world?'

2 3 3 1
/prithibi + ṭa'ka:r bɔiš ≠ /

'Money rules the world.'

The actual version first heard was a near minimal pair rather than a perfect one. But a perfect minimal pair can be produced and then accepted by the informant.

The loudness.

Two distinct degrees of loudness may be heard and contrasted. The placement is not predictable.

/'/ has the syllable, before which it is written in the transcription, clearly louder than other neighboring syllables, including any such syllable as follows pause or juncture. e.g.

2 2 2 3 3̄
/jɔl + 'khawa + ho'lo =/ 'Have you finished drinking the water?'

3 3 3 3 3̄
/'jɔl + khawa + ho'lo = / 'Have you finished the snack?'

An even louder stress may often be heard. e.g.

1 1
/''ja:'bē: ≠ / 'He will go.'

 2 2   1   3
/eṭa + 'ap''nar =/   'Is this yours?'

Since this extra loud stress does not occur unless with an intrusive stress as immediate neighbor, one may assign it to a vocal qualifier /overloud/, and so exclude it from the main body of the structured intonation.

The duration.

Two distinct degrees of syllable duration may be heard and contrasted. The placement is not predictable.

/:/ has the nuclear vowel, after which it is placed in the transcription, clearly lengthened, as compared to the neighboring syllables. e.g.

  2 2   2 1
/paṭa + 'tolō ≠ /   'Lift that plank!'

  2 2   2 1
/pa:ṭa + 'tolō ≠ /   'Lift that leg!'

An even longer vowel may often be heard, for example in the story about the dense forest quoted earlier. Since this extra length occurs chiefly in story-telling, it may be considered a vocal qualifier /overlong/, and thus not included in the main body of the structured intonation.

The vocal qualifiers.

No investigation of intonation can be successful without early anticipation and later accounting of vocal qualifiers. These do not exhibit any structure other than that of a simple catalog. Neither the mechanisms employed nor the effects produced are of any uniform kind. The vocal qualifiers of Bengali do not even come in pairs, as has been reported to be the case in Spanish.[1] The following have been found:

/overhigh/ manifested as a general heightening of pitch levels, e.g.

```
 2 3    3      3  3̄   2 1̲
/ami tɔkhon + 'a:ro choṭo ≠ /
```

'I was still younger then.' may often be uttered with the second /3/ considerably higher than the first /3/, and the third /3/ even higher.

/overspread/ manifested as a general widening of the mutual distances between pitch levels, e.g.

```
 2 3  2  3
/eṭa 'apnar =/
```

'Is this yours?' may often be uttered so that the second /2/ is only slightly higher than the first /2/ while the second /3/ is considerably higher than the first /3/.

/overslow/ manifested as intrusive juncture and length, e.g.

  2   3
/ra + ':m = / 'Ram!' (a call from over a distance)

  2   3   2 1̲
/ro: + 'bindronāth ≠ / 'It is Rabindranath'
(the well-known poet)

/overloud/ has been described already.

/overlong/ has been described already.

/overfront/ manifested as a palatal constriction. In the case of back vowels, this may be heard as a morphophonemic change to a front vowel, e.g.

 2̄ 2 1   1̲
/bɔḍḍo legechē ≠ / 'It has hurt very much.'

may be heard as /bæḍḍo legeche ≠ / with an intonation that would be otherwise the same.

/overbreathed/ manifested as breathiness or aspirated voicing, e.g.

 1̲ 1̲
/jā'bō: ≠ / 'I want to go.' may sometimes have this.

/overtense/ manifested as a lengthening of the postpause consonant and as a laryngealized onglide of the postpause vowel, e.g.

/tta beš/ 'That is good.'   /ʔa̭acha/ 'Alright.'

The pitch.

The approximation method starts with a sequence of segmentals in a contact language, and asks for its translation in the target language. The translation should be not literal, but idiomatic, the closest natural equivalent in the culture of the target language. A slightly different version of this method starts with a sequence in the target language and asks for 'the same meaning expressed in different words.' e.g.

2 3 4= 2 3 3 2≠
He's a doctor; his son's a lawyer.
2 3̄+'2̄ 1= 2 2̄+'3 1≠
/tini ḍaktar tãr chele ukil/

2 2 3 1= 2 +4 1≠
It wasn't a dog, but a cat.
2 3+ '2̲ ='2̄ 1̲≠
/kukur nɔy beṛal/

2 3 2 +1 ≠
Two five-cent stamps, please/
2 2+'2̲: 1 1̲ 1̄≠
/duṭo dɔš pɔyšar ṭikiṭ din to/

2 3 3 31≠
He said he'd come.
2 2̄ 3+'3̲: 1̲≠
/tini bollen je ašben/

2 2̄ 3+'3̲: 1̲≠
/tini bollen je ašben/

2 2+'2̄ 2 1 1̲≠
/tini ašben bollen/

The commutation method starts with a single sentence defined prima facie as a fixed sequence of segmental phonemes, and gets the informant either to produce, or to approve when produced, different suprasegmental patterns. e.g.

  2 1
/'jabē≠ / 'He will go.' (plain statement, the
last in a series)

  2 1
/'jabe≠ / 'He will go.' (plain statement, not the
last in a series of statements)

  3 1
/'jabē≠ / 'He will go.' (emphatic final statement)

  1 1
/'jabē≠ / 'He will go.' (final statement, quietly
ominous)

The collocation method starts with a sequence in the target language, and asks for different viable expansions. e.g.

 '2 1≠
/gælō/ 'He went off.'

 '2 1 1≠
/palie gælō/ 'He escaped.'

 2 2 '2 1≠
/pakhi palie gælo/ 'The bird escaped!'

 2 3 1 1≠
/gælo kɔkhōn/ 'He went off some (unremembered) time.'

The derivation method starts with a sequence, and asks for it in different positions within a larger sequence, so far as this is possible without substantial change in the meaning. e.g.

2 3 3 +'3̲:=
/tomra khaw kī/ 'Do you eat?'

2 3+'1:1̲≠
/tomra ki khaw̄/ 'Do you eat?'

2 '3̲= 2 :3+ '3 1 1̲≠
/šunle t̄o o doš kobul korchē/

'You have heard it now. He is confessing his guilt.'

2 :3+ '3 1 1≠ 2 '3̲=
/o doš kobul korche šunle t̄o/

'He is confessing his guilt. You have heard it now.'

Mere recording of a body of longer texts cannot be regarded as a valid method of discovery. However, once an analysis has been set up, transcription of longer texts are of great help in preventing premature generalizations about distribution or meaning. e.g.

2̄ 2 2̄ 2 3 2̄ 3 2 2̄
/'ro:j = 'skul theke + phire eše: = ami o haši +

1 1̲
'khæla korī ≠ /

'Hasi and I play games after school everyday.'

2 3 2 3 1 2 1 2 2̄
/gɔlpoṭa mone hɔbe + 'bana:no ≠ ta: nɔ:y = ækebarey +

2 1̲ 2 2 2 1 2 3 3
'šottī ≠ ghɔṭonaṭa ghoṭechilo + 'hizlite ≠ ami tɔkhon +

3 3̄ 1 1̲
'a:ro choṭō ≠ /

'The story may feel as if made up. That isn't the case,

though. It's wholly true. It happened at Hijli.
I was still younger then.'

2 3 2̄ 2 3 2̲ 2 2 2 1 1̲
/ey kɔlomṭa = jar dam æk šo ṭakā = ami 'upohar peechī ≠ /

'This pen, which costs Rs. 100, I have received as a gift.'

2 3 2 3 1 2̄ 3 3 2 3 2 1
/baba + 'raji nɔn ≠ tãr + 'na:na + rɔkom + a:potti ≠

'Dad isn't agreeable. He has many objections. You have

2 3 2 2 2̄ 2̲ 2 3 2 3 3 2 2̲ 2 3
tomar + ca:lculo + 'neȳ = pɔrer + baṛite + 'thakō = moṭe +

no address of your own. You live in someone else's house.

2 3 3 2 1 2 3 2 3
'deṛ šo ṭaka + 'mayne pɔw ≠ 'tar opore abar + 'jate +

You get only Rs. 150 a month. On top of that, you are a

2 1 2 3 2 3 3 2 3 2 2
'khri:šṭan ≠ abar + 'amar cayte = 'bɔyše + æk bɔchorer +

Christian. Again, you are younger than me by a year. He

2 1 2 3 23 2 3 1 1̲
'cho:ṭo ≠ bollen = bie + 'hotey pare nā ≠ /

said a marriage would not be possible.'

1 1 2 3 1 1̲
/ami + 'jabo na + mā: ≠ /

'I won't go, mother.'

2 2 3̄ 2 1̲ 1 1̲
'kinte to 'ceyechilō = pare nī ≠ /

'He wanted to buy it, but couldn't.'

2 3 1̄ 2̄3̲ 2 2̄ 1 1̲
/uni + a:šu:n = ami + 'jabō ≠ /

'Let him come, then I'll go.'

3 3 2̄ 3 3̲ 2 3 3 3 3 3 3
/tini + 'hat + joṛ korē = kɔpale + 'ba:r 'ba:r + ṭhækate

'He folded his hands and touched them to his forehead

3 3 3 3̲ 1 1 1̲ 1 2 2 2
+ ṭhækate + bollēn = 'jɔ:y + ma kalī ≠ æto + 'dɔ:ya kæno

again and again as he said, "Victory to Mother Kali!

23̲ 1 2 2 3̲ 1 1 3 3̲ 1 1
'ma = hori + tu'mī:y + šotto ≠ 'tu:'mī:y + šotto ≠

Why is this great kindness, mother?" 'Hari (Vishnu), you

2 3 2 2 2 2̄ 1 2 2 3 3̲
eki + lilakhæla + 'khelcho baba = šɔpno + dekchi na 'tō:=/

are the only reality.' "What game are you playing,
father? Is it that I am dreaming?"

2 3 2 3 2 3 3 2̄ 2 3 2 3 3 2 3
/amar + 'adeš + lɔŋghon ko're: = hɔba + ar adom + je adim

'It is because of the primal sin of Eve and Adam in

2 2 1 2 3 2 2 2
'pa:p + korechilo = tar phɔley + tader šɔntoti + manɔb

disobeying my instructions that their issue, the entire

2̲ 2 3 1 1̲
jatī: + 'ɔdhoppate jacchē ≠ /

mankind, is going to ruin.'

The corpus as included in various places in this chapter is sufficient to establish the mutual independence in distribution of nine distinct pitch phonemes in Bengali intonation. These are:

low even /1/, low falling /1̲/, low rising /1̄/, mid even /2/, mid falling /2̲/, mid rising /2̄/, high even /3/, high falling /3̲/ and high rising /3̄/. This can be shown in the form of a chart as follows.

:	'	1	1̲	1̄	2	2̲	2̄	3	3̲	3̄	occurs
x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	with'
x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	without'
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		with :
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	without:
x	x	x	x		x		x				after ≠
x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	before ≠
x	x				x		x				after =
x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	before =
x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	after +
x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	before +
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	after .
x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	before .

If a height point or pitch level system is tried out for Bengali, altogether five heights would be required. For /2-1̲ 2-2̲ 2-3̲ 2-1̄ 2-2̄ 2-3̄/ would have to be reinterpreted as */3-21 3-32 3-43 3-23 3-34 3-45/. Yet, one would discover soon enough that there would be no contrasts between /55 44/, /54 43/,/11 22/, and /12 23/. More than three alternative heights cannot be contrasted in Bengali at any point.

The meanings.

Three different yet overlapping semantic functions are shown by intonational phenomena.

Demarcation of grammatical units by intonation is largely statistical, as may be seen from the entire corpus included in this chapter:

Subcategorical constituent
(word or phrase) of phrase
marked by

nothing intonational	45 (54.9 p.c.) times
juncture	8 (9.7 p.c.) times
initial stress	5 (6.1 p.c.) times
pitch change	23 (24.1 p.c.) times

Categorical constituent
(word or phrase) of clause
marked by

nothing intonational	6 (6.1 p.c.) times
juncture	33 (33.7 p.c.) times
initial stress	56 (57.1 p.c.) times

pitch change	69 (70.4 p.c.) times
tentative pause	4 (4.1 p.c.) times

Nonfinal clause marked by

juncture	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
tentative pause	18 (43.9 p.c.) times
final pause	14 (34.1 p.c.) times
low even final pitch	16 (29.1 p.c.) times
low falling	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
mid even	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
mid falling	3 (7.3 p.c.) times
mid rising	3 (7.3 p.c.) times
high even	5 (12.1 p.c.) times
high falling	5 (12.1 p.c.) times

Final clause or sentence marked by

tentative pause	14 (26.9 p.c.) times
final pause	38 (73.0 p.c.) times
low even pitch	3 (5.7 p.c.) times
low falling	34 (65.3 p.c.) times
low rising	2 (3.8 p.c.) times
high even	3 (5.7 p.c.) times
high falling	5 (9.6 p.c.) times
high rising	5 (9.6 p.c.) times

pitch change	69 (70.4 p.c.) times
tentative pause	4 (4.1 p.c.) times

Nonfinal clause marked by

juncture	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
tentative pause	18 (43.9 p.c.) times
final pause	14 (34.1 p.c.) times
low even final pitch	16 (29.1 p.c.) times
low falling	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
mid even	1 (2.4 p.c.) times
mid falling	3 (7.3 p.c.) times
mid rising	3 (7.3 p.c.) times
high even	5 (12.1 p.c.) times
high falling	5 (12.1 p.c.) times

Final clause or sentence marked by

tentative pause	14 (26.9 p.c.) times
final pause	38 (73.0 p.c.) times
low even pitch	3 (5.7 p.c.) times
low falling	34 (65.3 p.c.) times
low rising	2 (3.8 p.c.) times
high even	3 (5.7 p.c.) times
high falling	5 (9.6 p.c.) times
high rising	5 (9.6 p.c.) times

Length does not seem to demarcate any unit larger than the minimal, which may vary between the morpheme and the syllable. e.g.

/paṭa/ 'plank' /pa:ṭa/ 'that leg' [pa+ṭa]

/kali/ 'ink' /ka:li/ 'just tomorrow' [kal+i]

/ro: + 'bindronath/ 'It is Rabindranath (the poet).'

Configuration in the sense of playing up some of the elements in the sequence and playing down the others, is achieved by stress, length and pitch change, occurring separately or together. Length seems to be primarily configurative in function. Initial and medial pitches too seem to be almost wholly configurative. The vocal qualifiers /overslow overloud overhigh overspread/ occur frequently with a configurative meaning.

Information in the sense of a specific bit of news, is conveyed quite often by certain determinate potencies and impotencies in regard to juncture or stress or high pitch.

Modulator particles /na ki je ar/ are distinguished from homonymous pronouns or conjunctions only if (a) one of these is, with or without stress, isolated in a stressgroup by junctures or pauses, or (b) occurs in a stressgroup in which there is obligatorily no /'/. e.g.

2 3 1 1 3 /tumi + 'jabe + na = /	'You will go, isn't it?'
2 3 2 3 /tumi na + 'jabe = /	'Aren't you supposed to go?'
2 3 2 2 3 /tumi + jabe 'na = /	'You won't go?'

Again, interrogative pronouns of the set /ke ki kɔto kɔbe kɔkhon konkhan .../ are distinguished from homonyms signifying an unnamed identity or quantity or quality by a concert of stress and pitch. This particular phenomenon may be called a kind of lexical stress, or accent, even though only marginal in the language.

2 2 3 1̲ /gæche + 'kɔkhon = /	'When did he go?'
2 3 3 3̲ /'gæche + kɔkhon = /	'Has he ever gone?'
2 1̲ /'eneche kɔto ≠ /	'How much has he brought?'
2 1 1̲ /'eneche kɔto ≠ /	'He has brought some amount.'

Of the vocal qualifiers, /overtense overfront overbreathed/ have only informative meaning. /overtense/ marks a reluctant resignation on the part of the speaker. /overfront/ expresses a mocking devaluation. /overbreathed/ indicates a tearful insistence.

Pitch is only very vaguely informative when nonfinal. A high pitch indicates a sense of excitement, and a low pitch indicates a sense of restraint. But of course excitement and restraint may each mean rewarding as well as punishing, promising as well as fulfilling attitudes.

Pitch is definitely informative when immediately before a pause. The alternatives convey quite distinct meanings, which is not to say that these meanings are amenable to easy definition. /3̄/ marks a question, or a challenge. /3̲/ marks a question. /3/ marks a call or a hesitation. /33̲/ is a call over a distance. /3̄3̲/ is a welcome surprise. /2̄ 2̄2̄ 32̄ 2̲ 2/ mark sentence fragments, often efforts to draw the attention of the hearer. /1̄/ marks a request. /1̲/ marks a final conclusion. /1/ marks a tentative conclusion.

Summary of results.

Two different types of a summary are offered here.

The phonological hierarchy of Bengali has at the most inclusive level the utterance, each of which is a linear sequence of one or more pause-groups, demarcated from one another by one of two types of pause.

Each pausegroup is a linear sequence of one or more stressgroups, demarcated from one another by juncture.

A stressgroup is constituted in two alternative ways. It is a linear sequence of one to eight syllables. None to two of these syllables may have extra length. None to two of these syllables, including the extended portion of a syllable, may, in independent selection, have extra stress. Each syllable is a linear sequence of one to five segmental phonemes, chosen in accordance with various restrictions from out of forty-eight.

A stressgroup is also, independently, a linear sequence of one to two intonation contours. Each contour begins from either juncture or stress. Each contour is a linear sequence of one to four pitch phonemes, selected in mutual independence from out of nine.

The interlingual contrasts to standard midwestern American English are on these counts:

Junctures mark phrases oftener than words.

Unstressed contours between juncture and stress are relatively rare.

Only two levels of stress occur.

Extra length varies in independence of extra stress.

Stressed syllables frequently end on the nuclear vowel.

Syllable postnuclei of more than one segmental phoneme do not occur.

Contours with single pitch point occur.

Only three pitch levels occur.

Three pitch slants occur at any pitch point or height.

A lexical word may have stress only on the first or on the last syllable.

Relevance to the study of the compound verbs.

The so-called compound verbs of Bengali are constituted by an incapacity of certain verb stems to occur without a grammatical object. The grammatical object may be not only of diverse kinds, but also be present in diverse positions in relation to the verb head. It may be present in the same grammatical phrase, e.g.

/uni'khee phelechen/ 'He has eaten it up.'

Or, it may be present in the same grammatical clause, though not in the same grammatical phrase, e.g.

/khee uni'phelechen/ 'It is he who has eaten it up'.

Or, it may be present in the same grammatical sentence, though not in the same grammatical clause, e.g.

/khee = 'uni phelechen/ 'As regards eating it up, it is he who has done it.'

/khee = 'aj phelechen/ 'As regards eating it up, he has done it today.'

Or, it may be present in the same grammatical discourse, though not in the same grammatical sentence, e.g.

/khee phelechen ki = 'phelechen ≠ /

'Has he eaten it up? He has.'

Intonation is a clue to the indentification of a compound verb only in one rather marginal case. /uni khee = phelechen/ cannot be interpreted as a manifestation of the compound verb /khee phæla/, but must be analyzed as ‘He has eaten it and thrown it away.’, that is, as a manifestation of an independent verb stem homonymmous to the dependent one. To define this condition exactly, a compound verb cannot be interrupted by a pause unless the verb head forms a complete clause, that is, a clause that contains some other categorical constituent such as a subject or another object other than the predicate.

Notes

1. Robert P. Stockwell et al, 'Spanish Juncture and Intonation.' Language. 32, 641-65. 1956.

Noun Inflections

A noun word is analyzable into an obligatory stem of any of the classes, followed optionally by a determiner, followed optionally by a case marker. The element that controls the external distribution of the word, is always the ultimate or penultimate element, which is called a case marker. For this reason, a noun without a case marker may also be described as having the case marker manifested by zero.

1.0 There are two groups of case suffixes, which may be called direct and oblique.

1.1 In the direct case suffix group is the nominative case (subject of the sentence).

1.2 In the oblique case suffix groups are the following cases: genitive (possession or preceding a post-position), objective (direct or indirect object of the verb), locative (place at or to which the action takes place), and instrumental (means by which the action is accomplished).

1.2.1 Note: There is some overlap in case markers, e.g., locative and instrumental cases may be marked by the same phonological suffix; they are differentiated syntactically. Further, there is distinction between the suffixes for nouns and pronouns.

1.3 In all plurals, there is a distinction between nouns with human and nouns with non-human referrents.

1.3.1 For all human items, there are two plural forms, definite and non-definite, in both direct and oblique categories.

2.0 Singular case suffixes (case markers may be applicable to one or several cases):

2.1 Direct: Ø

2.2 Oblique: -ke, -y, Ø
-r, -er, -kar
-e (-y), -te

3.0 Ø

3.1 Direct:

3.1.1 Ø suffix is obligatory in the nominative singular:

ram bhat khay	Ram eats rice

3.2 Oblique:

3.2.1 Ø may occur in the objective case, but never with indirect objects.

3.2.1.1 Ø generally occurs with non-human nouns when the verb has only one object:

se gach kaṭe	he cuts the tree

3.2.1.2 Ø generally occurs with non-human nouns when these nouns function as the direct object of the verb:

ma cheleke kapoṛ poray	mother dresses the child (i.e., causes the child to wear clothes).

3.2.2 Ø may occur in the locative case, in free variation with e~te:

se baṛi ache se baṛite ache	he is at home

3.2.3 ∅ never occurs in the genitive or instrumental cases.

4.0 -ke.

4.1 -ke is obligatory with human nouns when the human noun is the indirect object of the verb (i.e., for this situation to occur, there must be two objects of the verb):

ramke boi dao	give Ram the book

4.2 -ke is optional with non-human nouns when that noun is direct object of the verb:

murtike jɔle phælo	cast the image in the water
murti jɔle phælo	

4.3 -ke is optional with plural objectives of non-human nouns (see below, section 8.1).

4.4 -ke may occur with non-human singulars only when the stem has a qualifying suffix (-ṭi, -khana, etc.)

boiṭike dao	give (me) the book
boiṭi dao	

4.5 -ke may occur, in free variation with ∅,

with human nouns when there is only one object of the verb:

se cheleke rakhe	
se chele rakhe	he keeps the boy
se chelṭike rakhe	

4.6 Note: There are certain formations which require an oblique case marker on the subject together with an impersonal form of the verb; see II. 3.12.

4.7 /-ke/ occurs with nouns and pronouns before certain post positions:

take diye	by him (e.g., have it done by him)

4.8 Free variants and other usages:

4.8.1 In the objective case, for personal pronouns only, /y/ is an optional free variant of /-ke/ in the first and second persons singular:

amay~amake	to me

/-y/ occurs in the third person singular in pre-modern and poetic Bengali only. In this type of language there is another free variant: /-re/:

radhake~radhay~radhare	to Radha

4.8.2 There is a homophonous suffix /-ke/ which has become unanalyzable even though it is an optional part of words denoting time:

aj ~ ajke	today
kal ~ kalke	yesterday, tomorrow

5.0 -e~-te~ete

-e~ete occur with a stem which is consonant-final, -te only occurs with polysyllabic stems with vowel final; e~te~ete occur with monosyllabic stems with vowel final.

Examples:

ghɔr	ghɔre~ghɔrete
matul	matule~matulete
maśi	maśite
jhi	jhiye~jhite~jhiyete
pa	paye~pa-te~payete
po	powe~powte~powete

5.1 -e~-te occurs generally in the locative case:

ami baṛite jabo	I shall go home
ami grame jabo	I shall go to the village.

5.2 e~-te occurs occasionally in the instrumental case:

ami churite kaṭi   I cut with the knife

5.2.1 In the instrumental case of a passive construction, -e~-te is largely used:

e churite kaṭa jay na

5.2.2 Note: The instrumental case suffix is optionally replaced by the post position and in an active construction such usage is generally preferred.

Thus

ami churi diye kaṭi
ami churite kore kaṭi

generally replace 5.2.; and

e churi diye kaṭa jay na
e churite kore kaṭa jay na

occasionally replace 5.2.1.

5.3 -e~-te occurs in the nominative plural when the meaning is generalized:

loke bɔle   people say

Note: this is an important feature of East Bengal dialects, even when generalization is absent:

šæme khay na   Syam doesn't eat

6.0 -r~-er:

-r occurs with stems which have vowel final, -er occurs with stems which have consonant final. Note: monosyllabic stems with vowel final may take the -er suffix; but phonologically a semi-vowel occurs between the stem-final vowel and the suffix:

ma	mar	mayer	of mother
jhi	jhir	jhiyer	of the girl (maidservant)

6.1 -r~-er is obligatory in the genitive case with both human and non-human nouns, irrespective of categories, to indicate possession:

tar boi	his book
cheler jama	the boy's clothes
šɔkoler deš	everyone's country

Exception: time nouns and adverbs; see below, section 6.3.

6.2 -r~-er is obligatory before most post-positions, see II. 4.

6.3 A conditioned variant suffix -kar occurs with nouns of time and adverbs:

ækhon	ækhonkar

tɔkhon	tɔkhonkar
kɔkhon	kɔkhonkar
jɔkhon	jɔkhonkar
roj	rojkar

6.4 -r~-er is optional in certain constructions in which an oblique case marker on the subject and impersonal form of the verb are required; see II. 3.12.

6.5 -e~-er occurs optionally in free variation with -kar with certain aggregate nouns and stems with -jon:

śɔkol	sɔkoler	sɔkolkar
ubhɔy	ubhɔyer	ubhɔykar
prottek	protteker	protekkar
dujon	dujoner	dujonkar

Plurals

Note: pronoun declensions differ; see II. 2.14ff.

7. Direct (nominative)

7.1 -ra~-era:

-ra occurs with animate nouns having polysyllabic vowel-ending stems, and also with pronominals; elsewhere there is free variation between -ra~-era.

Stem	Nominative Plural
jhi	jhira~jhiyera
manuš	manušran~manušera
maši	mašira

7.1.1 Note: animate nouns include all human items and collective animate nouns:

ram	ramra	ramera
meye	meyera	
jontu	jontura	
pakhi	pakhira	

but not

bagh	baghra	baghera
kokil	kokilra	kokilera

7.2 -e~-te occurs in plural for generalized nouns; see above section 5.3.

7.3 -gulo~guli occurs with both human and non-human nouns. With human nouns it is a definite pluralizer:

chele	khæla kɔre	boy plays
chelera	khæla kɔre	boys (in general) play
chelegulo	khæla kɔre	(those specific) boys play

7.4 -gulo~guli also occurs with non-human nouns as a definite pluralizer:

gach śobuj	trees (in general) are green
gachgulo śobuj	(those specific) trees are green

Note: there are various pluralizing suffixes in the direct case which occur only in the SB form of the language. Among these, for human nouns, are /-śɔkol, -brindo, -gɔn/, and for non-human nouns /-guccho, -sreni, mala, -har, goṣṭi/. For poetic effect, suffixes which ordinarily occur only with human or animate nouns may be attached to non-human nouns.

7.5 Reduplicatives:

7.5.1 Any adjective if reduplicated pluralizes the following noun.

bɔro bɔro gach	big trees

Note: Plural suffixes (bɔro bɔro gachguli) are permitted by the grammar with reduplicative plurals; with adjectives of plurality, however, plural suffixes are usually considered ungrammatical:

ɔnek lok not ɔnekgulo lok

8.0 Oblique:

8.1 Human and non-human nouns may take the case suffixes of the singular, following the pluralizer -gulo~-guli:

gach	gachgulo	gachguloke
baṛi	baṛigulo	baṛigulor
chele	chelegulo	chelegulir

8.2 -der -derke (-digke) is obligatory in the objective case for animate nouns:

śe cheleder khaway	he feeds the boys
śe chelederke khaway	

8.3 -der is obligatory in the genitive case for animate nouns:

meyeder boi	the girls' book

8.4 There is no special plural case suffix for human items in the locative and instrumental.

Pronouns

-2-

2.0 Pronouns in Bengali are divisible into six general categories:

2.1 Personal

2.2 Demonstrative

2.3 Relative

2.4 Interrogative

2.5 Residual
2.5.1 Indefinite
2.5.2 Inclusive
2.5.3 Reflexive
2.5.4 Reciprocal

2.6 Pronominal derivatives

2.1 Personal pronouns

2.1.1 Personal pronouns have three persons and two numbers, with no distinction of gender. Like nouns, they are divided into a direct case and oblique cases:

Direct:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ami	amra
2nd		
familiar	tui	tora
ordinary	tumi	tomra
honorific	apni	apnara
3rd		
ordinary		
indefinite	śe	tara
proximate	e	era (SB ihara)$^{2.1.2.3}$
non-proximate	o	ora (SB uhara)$^{2.1.2.3}$
honorific		
indefinite	tini	t̃ara
proximate	ini	ẽra (SB ĩhara)
non-proximate	uni	õra (SB ũhara)

Oblique:

1st	amar	amader
	amake amaẏ$^{2.1.2.4}$	amader~amaderke~
	amate$^{2.1.2.5}$	amadike$^{2.1.2.6}$
2nd familiar	tor	toder
	toke	toder~toderke~
	tote$^{2.1.2.5}$	todike$^{2.1.2.6}$

ordinary	tomar	tomader
	tomake	tomader~tomaderke~
	tomate$^{2.1.2.5}$	tomadike$^{2.1.2.6}$
honorific	apnar	apnader
	apnake	apnader~apnaderke~
	apnate$^{2.1.2.5}$	apnadike$^{2.1.2.6}$
3rd*		
ordinary		
indefinite	tar	tader
	take	tader~taderke~
	tate$^{2.1.2.5}$	tadike$^{2.1.2.6}$
proximate	er	eder (SB ihader)$^{2.1.2.3}$
	eke	eder~ederke~ (SB ihader~ihaderke)
	ete$^{2.1.2.5}$	edike$^{2.1.2.6}$
non-proximate	or	oder (SB uhader)$^{2.1.2.3}$
	oke	oder~oderke~ (SB ihader~ihaderke)
	ote$^{2.1.2.5}$	odike$^{2.1.2.6}$
honorific		
indefinite	tãr	tãder
	tãke	tãder~tãderke~
	tãte	tãdike$^{2.1.2.6}$

proximate	ẽr (SB ĩhar)	ẽder (SB ĩhader)
	ẽke (SB ĩhake)	ẽder~ẽderke~ (SB ĩhader~ĩhaderke)
	ete 2.1.2.5 (SB ihake)	ẽdike (SB ĩhadike)
non-proximate	õr (SB ũhar)	õder (SB ũhader)
	õke (SB ũhake)	õder~õderke~ (SB ũhader~ũhaderke)
	ote 2.1.2.5 (SB ũhate)	õdike (SB ũhadike)

*Note: the third person stems differ in the direct singular from the direct plural and oblique; there are also different stems in the ordinary and the honorific. For the proximate -- non-proximate distinction, see below, section 2.1.2.2.

2.1.2 Usages of the personal pronouns

2.1.2.1 See An Introduction to Bengali, part I, p. 80.

In the 2nd person, there are three possibilities of direct address, using the forms tui, tumi or apni, with the appropriate verbal suffix. The distinction between the /tui/ and /tumi/ forms is not easy to define, as it has to do partially with the attitude of the speaker toward the person addressed. The form /tui/ is a familiar address, usually used in affectionate and informal relationships; it can however sometimes signify contempt. It is most often used within the family and among close friends of the same age; but even in these situations there are subtleties: e.g., a son will never address his father with the /tui/ form, but this would be a common address from son to mother.

The /tumi/ form is a bit more clear cut. It is the ordinary form of address between equals who are well acquainted; it is somewhat less intimate than /tui/, but much less formal than /apni/.

The /apni/ form is used as a polite address to a superior in rank or age and between equals who are not well acquainted.

It is to be noted that these usages are those most common in polite society. Among some groups, especially of lower caste people, the /apni/ form is rarely if ever heard, /tumi/ being used in all but the most intimate kinds of situations.

The 3rd person also has a distinction between ordinary and honorific; there is no familiar form. The usages of the two roughly follow those of the 2nd person, i.e., equals would be referred to, in groups of equals, in the ordinary, and respected persons in the honorific. However, the honorific form will be slightly more common in the third person: a person who might be addressed familiarly might well be one who deserves to be referred to in the honorific form in a formal situation.

It should also be noted that, as these pronoun forms indicate the speaker's attitude toward another, there are ways of avoiding what might be socially awkward situations. The use of the passive, for example, will get around both pronoun and verbal suffix. For example, a speaker who is not quite sure whether the /apni/ or the /tumi/ form would be more appropriate, might ask the question "When did you come?" by saying /kɔbe jawa hoyeche/.

2.1.2.2 In the 3rd person there is also a distinction between proximate and non-proximate. The proximate form indicates that the person or thing referred to is physically close to the speaker. Non-proximate indicates a person or thing physically removed from the speaker, but still within sight or hearing. The indefinite form refers to a person or thing far removed from the speaker in time or space.

2.1.2.3 It is to be noted that there are no SB forms for either the proximate or non-proximate singular, nor do such forms exist for the indefinite singular or plural.

2.1.2.4 Note that the oblique case suffix /-ke/ may have a variant /-y/; this variant is limited to poetry and some dialects. Another poetic variant, which exists in older forms of the language, is the suffix /-re/.

2.1.2.5 The oblique suffix /-e~-te/ can occur with personal pronouns in all persons, in the singular only, in one very specific situation: when mutual action is indicated.

amate tomate kaj kori	we both work

The locative can occur however with non-personal pronouns, having the same function as the locative with other nouns, e.g.,

tate	in (or on) that

2.1.2.6 The oblique plural suffix /-dike/ is used primarily in dialectal or informal speech.

2.1.2.7 Except for the locative, the functions of the case suffixes are the same for personal pronouns as they are for animate nouns; see ante, section -1-, 1-8.

2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

2.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns, always non-personal, also have three stems: proximate, non-proximate, and indefinite:

indefinite	śe, ta
proximate	e
non-proximate	o

The usages of these three are the same as for personal pronouns, i.e., to indicate distance from the speaker.

2.2.2 Each of these pronouns take the qualifying suffix -ṭa/-ṭi in the singular and the non-human suffix -gulo/-guli in the plural:

śeṭa bhalo	that is good

eṭa ki bhalo boi	is this a good book?
oṭa kharap jiniś	that is bad stuff
eguli eseche	these have come

Without this qualifying suffix, /śe, e, o/ are properly adjectives, and must accompany a noun:

e boi bhalo	this book is good
śe o boiguli poṛche	he is reading those books

2.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns, like nouns and personal pronouns, have a set of oblique case suffixes. Proximate and non-proximate demonstratives add these inflections to the stems /e, o/. The indefinite demonstrative, however, uses only the stem /ta/ in the oblique:

tate rakho	put (it) on that

2.3 Relative pronouns. See *IB*, I, pp. 246-247.

2.3.1 Personal relatives, with reference to human beings only. The direct form is /je ... śe .../: he/she who ... he/she ... These relatives can be inflected for case and number, as other personal pronouns.

Direct case:

je aśche śe ke	who is that who is coming?

jara e baṛite thake tara chattro	those who live in this house are students

Oblique case:

je aśche tar nam ki	what is the name of him who is coming?
jara aśche tader nam ki	what are the names of those people who are coming?
jara śekhane bosche taderke pɔchɔndo kɔro ki	do you like those people who are sitting there?

2.3.2 Impersonal relative, used with abstract, indefinite, non-animate reference. The impersonal relative may be inflected for number, but not for case. The direct form is /ja ... ta .../: that which ... that ...

ja ami bollum ta thik	what I just said is right
ja ami dekhchi ta ki	what is that which I see?

The plural stem, however, is /je ... śe .../. It is distinguished from the personal relative by the use of the inanimate plural suffixes /-gulo/-guli/:

jegulo ami caichi śegulo bhalo
those which I want are good

2.3.2.1 The correlative /ta/ will sometimes occur by itself; but this will be in abbreviated utterances:

ta ami jani	I know that

is an abbreviation of the full utterance:

ja tumi bolecho ta ami jani	I know what you have said

2.3.3 Adjectival relatives, occuring always with a noun. As with any other adjective, the noun is inflected where necessary, the adjective is not. The basic form is /je ... śe .../.

je boiṭa tomake diyechi śeṭa kothæ	where is the book which I have given you?
je cheleguli eśeche śeguli śeneder chele	the boys who have come are the Sens' sons

2.3.3.1 There is another adjectival set: /jɔto ... tɔto .../: as much as ... so much...

tomar jɔto ṭaka ache tɔto ṭaka ami cai	I want as much money as you have

2.3.4 Other types of relative formations:

jekhane ... śekhane ...	where ... there...
jekhane tumi jabe śekhane ami jabo	I shall go where you go

jɔkhon tɔkhon ...	when... then ...
tumi jɔkhon jabe tɔkhon ami jabo	when you go, I shall go
jɔkhoni ... tɔkhoni ... jokkhuni ... tokkhuni ...	the very moment ... at that moment ...
jɔkhoni tumi bolbe tɔkhoni boiṭa ene dobo	the moment you tell me, I'll bring the book
jæmon ... tæmon ... jemni ... temni ...	as ... so ... just as ... just so ...
jæmon apni bolben tæmon ami korbo	I'll do as you tell me
jemni apni bolben temni ami korbo	I'll do exactly as you tell me

2.4 Interrogative pronouns.

Note: for the specific relationship between intonation and the interrogative pronouns, see Chapter II, "Phonology", section 1. There are two interrogatives, /ke/ for human reference, /ki/ for non-human reference.

2.4.1 /ke/ has the stem /ka-/ in the oblique case; it is declined regularly.

ke aśche	who is coming?
kara aśche	who (plural) are coming?

eṭa kar boi	whose book is this?
kake ḍakcho	whom are you calling?

2.4.2 /ki/ is not inflected for either case or number. For plural formations, see below, section 2.5.1.3.

2.5 Residual categories

2.5.1 Indefinite pronouns:

Indefinite pronouns have two forms: /keu/ for human reference, /kono/ for non-human reference. The form /kichu/ may be used either for human or non-human reference.

2.5.1.1 /keu/ "someone, anyone", has a different stem in the oblique singular and in the direct and oblique plural:

	Singular	Plural
Direct:	keu	kara
Oblique:	kar	kader
	kauke	kaderke

2.5.1.2 The form /kono/ and /kichu/ have a similar meaning: "some, any", and in some environments either can be used. But there are some environments in which the distribution of the two is complementary:

When the usage is adjectival to quantifiable nouns, /kichu/ occurs in the positive and /kono/ in the negative:

amar kichu kaj ache	I have some work
amar kono kaj nei	I have no work
amar kichu boier dorkar ache	I need some books
amar kono boier dorkar nei	I need no books

In interrogative sentences either may be used, but the meanings differ:

tomar ki kono kaj ache	Do you have any work (i.e., a job)?
tomar ki kichu kaj ache	Do you have anything to do?

But when the noun is non-quantifiable:

kichu parthokko ache kono parthokko ache	There is some difference

It should be noted that the addition of the emphatic suffix /-i/ to /kichu/ allows the form /kichui/ to be substituted in environments where more usually only /kono/ is found:

amar kichui kaj nei amar kono kaj nei	I have no work

2.5.1.3 For all except personal pronouns, plurals may also be formed by reduplication:

ke asbe	who (singular) will come
ke ke asbe	who (of several) will come
kara asbe	who (several of many) will come
kara kara asbe	who (several groups of many) will come

2.5.2 Inclusive pronouns: /śɔb, śɔbai, śɔkol, śɔmɔsto/, "all". With the exception of /śɔbai/, these also function as adjectives.

/śɔbai/ and /śɔkol/ are used with human nouns only; in earlier phases of the language, /śɔb/ was used with either human or non-human nouns, but in modern Bengali it is usually limited to non-human nouns.

/śɔbai/ and /śɔkol/ also occur with inflection:

śɔbaike aśte bolechi	I have told everyone to come

/śɔkol/, when functioning as a pronoun, usually takes the form /śɔkole/ in the direct case:

śɔkole amar baṛite aśbe	Everyone will come to my house

2.5.3 Reflexive pronouns:

The two forms /nije/ and /apon~apn-/ occur; /nije/ is the most commonly used in spoken Bengali:

ami nije jabo	I shall go myself

2.5.3.1 /nije/ can be inflected for case and number, and is always in agreement with the noun or pronoun which it accompanies:

eṭa amar nijer boi	This is my own book
amake nijeke nite hɔbe	I'll have to bring it my self
oṭa tader nijeder baṛi	That is their own house

Note: in the objective case, the form /nijei/ can occur as a free variant of /nijeke/.

2.5.3.2 With the form /apon/, no agreement is necessary:

egulo amar apon jiniś	These are my own things

2.5.4 Reciprocal pronoun:

/pɔrɔśpor/, "each other", is declined regularly for case and number.

2.6 Pronominal derivatives:

There are several morphemes to which various pronouns or adjectives (e~æ, o, śe, kon, je/, or phonological variants of these, may be prefixed; there is also a bound morph /tɔ-/ which functions in this way. A few examples:

-khan	"place"	ekhan	here
		okhan	there (visible)
		śekhan	there
		konkhan	where
-khɔn	"time"	ækhɔn	now, this time
		tɔkhɔn	then, that time
		jɔkhɔn	when (relative)
		kɔkhɔn	when (interrogative)
-mɔn		æmɔn (ɔmon)	such
		tæmɔn	so
		jæmɔn	as
		kæmɔn	how

There are various other nuclear forms of this type (i.e., /-to/: /æto/, "so much", /kɔto/, "how much", etc.).

Verbs

I. Morphology

1.0 Verb Category

On structural grounds, Bengali verbs may be divided into two classes: (I) simple (II) compound). The simple verbs may again be divided in two groups: (I) Primary (II) Derivative.

2.0 The Primary verbs have a) monosyllabic stems of CVC-, VC- and CV- shape b) a patterned stem vowel alternation. Verbs having stems of identical canonical shape show identical stem vowel alternation. Moreover, stem alternants of identical canonical shape have more or less identical distribution.

2.1 There are altogether sixteen classes of Primary verbs in Bengali. Of these, three are irregular in one or more ways and are discussed separately. The remaining thirteen classes with their respective allomorphs are listed below:

Class	Verbal Noun Genitive	Second Person Familiar Singular Imperative	Perfective Participle	Infinitive	Gloss
*1.	kɔr-ba-r	kɔr	kor - e	kor - te	to do
2.	bɔš-ba-r	boš	boš - e	boš - te	to sit
3.	hɔ-ba-r	hɔ	ho - e	ho - te	to be
4.	šo-iba-r šoi-ba-r	šɔ	šo - e	šo - ite soi - te	to bear
5.	šon-ba-r	šon	šun - e	šun - te	to hear
6.	šo-ba-r	šo	šu - e	šu - te	to lie down
7.	du-iba-r dui-ba-r	do	du - e	du - ite dui - te	to milk
8.	dækh-ba-r	dækh	dekh - e	dekh - te	to see
9.	cen-ba-r	cen	cin - e	cin - te	to recognize
10.	rakh-ba-r	rakh	rekh - e	rakh - te	to keep
11.	aš-ba-r	ae	eš - e	aš - te**	to come
12.	pa-ba-r	pa	pe - e	pe - te	to get
13.	ba-iba-r bai-ba-r	ba	be - e	ba - ite bai - te	to row

* alternatives are
kɔr-a-r,
bɔš-a-r, etc.

** in dialects
as - te

Verb classes 1,2,3,5,6,8 and 9 show low versus immediate high vowel alternation. Classes 10, 11 and 12 show /a/ in the stem alternate with /e/, which is a notch higher than the immediate high vowel. We may take the statement that all verb classes except 4,7 and 13, low vowels alternate with immediate high vowels.

Class 14 is composed of /de-/ 'to give' and /ne-/ 'to take'. Class 15 is composed of one verb /ach-/ 'to be'. Class 16 is composed of a single verb /ja-/ 'to go' with various allomorphs.

3.0 Verb Suffixes

There are altogether eighteen verbal suffixes in Bengali.

The following suffixes are joined to the stems and terminate the verbal construction:

1.	cond.	-le
2.	2 p. inf. imp.	-Ø
3.	2 p. ord. pr. imp./opt.	-O
4.	2 p. ord. fut. imp./opt.	-O[1]
5.	3 p. ord. pr. imp./opt.	-uk ~ -k
6.	2 and 3 p. hon. pr. imp./opt.	-un ~ -n

(ii) the following two suffixes may either terminate verbal constructions or may be followed by other suffixes:

7.	imper.	-te ~ Ø
8.	per.	-e

---

[1] The 2 p. ord. pr. imp./opt. and 2 p. ord. fut. imp./ opt. use different stem allomorphs, and thus the contrast is maintained.

(iii) the following suffixes (all of these are personal suffixes) terminate verbal constructions, but may or may not be preceded by other suffixes. All of these have more than one allomorph. The allomorphs which occur directly after the stems form the present habitual tense. These are noted below. The other allomorphs which do not occur directly after the stems will be noted in connection with the description of suffixal sequences:

9. 1 p.	-i
10. 2 p. inf.	-ś
11. 2 p. ord.	-o
12. 3 p. ord.	-e
13. 2 and 3 p. hon.	-en

(iv) the following two suffixes are preceded by the stems and followed by the personal suffixes:

14. pt. hab	-t-
15. fut.	-b-

(v) the following suffix is preceded and followed by other suffixes:

16.	-ch-

(vi) the following suffix is either preceded or both preceded and followed by other suffixes:

17. pt. ind. -il~l

From the foregoing description it is apparent that there occur a number of suffixal sequences. More than one suffix taken at random cannot form sequences, as there are always limitations of selection. The following formulas show what types of sequences are possible:

1. tense suff. + p. suff.
2. $\begin{array}{l}\text{imper. suff.}[1] \\ \text{per. suff.}\end{array}$ + /ch/ (+pt. suff.)[2] + p. suff.

The tense suffixes (in the first type of sequence) are:

(i)	pt. indef.	il ~ -l
(ii)	pt. hab.	it ~ -t
(iii)	fut.	ib ~ -b

The allomorphs of the personal suffixes occurring after these tense suffixes are presented later on. If we represent the three tense suffixes by /l/, /t/ and /b/, and the personal suffixes by P, the first type of suffixal sequence can be expressed by the following formulas (S stands for stem):

---

[1] The parentheses indicate an exclusive disjunction, that is, we can form a sequence either with the imper. suff. /-te/ or with the perf. suff. /-e-/.

[2] The brace indicates that a construction is possible with or without the item braced.

(i) S-l-P

(ii) S-t-P

(iii) S-b-P

The second type of sequence, as is indicated by the formula, must have the suffix /-ch-/ as its core, on either side of which other suffixes must occur. The suffixes that must follow /-ch-/ are the personal suffixes, which may or may not be preceded by the past suffix /-il- ~ -l-/. The suffix /-ch-/ itself is preceded either by the imperfective /-te-/[1] or the perfective /-e-/. The different possible combinations (coming under this second type) along with indications of the tense categories they express are tabulated below (the allomorphs of the personal suffixes are left out for a separate presentation in section 2.7.)

Pr. Prf.	Pt. Prf.	Pr. Prog.	Pt. Prog.
S[2]-e-ch-P[3]	S-e-ch-il-P	S-0-cch-P S-0-ch-P	S-0-cch-il-P S-0-ch-il-P

---

[1] In all such sequences the imperfective morpheme /-te/ has the /0/ allomorph. The postulation of /0/ allomorph is dictated by diachronic and synchronic requirements.

[2] S stands for verbal stem

[3] P stands for personal suffix

The allomorphs of personal suffixes occuring after bare stems, tense suffixes and suffixal sequences are presented below:

	after /il~l/	after /it~t/	after /ib~b/	after stem and /ech/
1 p.	am	am	o	i
2 inf.	i	iś	i	iś ~ ś
2 ord.	e	e	e	e
3 ord.	o	o	e	e
2 hon. 3 hon.	en	en	en	en

Hereafter, both single suffixes as well as sequences of suffixes which occur after root allomorphs and necessarily terminate the verbal constructions will be referred to as desinences.

4.0 Tables of desinences

4.1 Table I.

	Present Indefinite	Past Indefinite	Past Habitual	Future
1 P	i ~ Ø	lam	tam	bo
2 P Inf.	iś ~ ś	li	tiś	bi
2 P Ord.	ò	le	te	be
3 P Ord	e	lo	to	be
2 and 3 P Hon	en ~ n	len	ten	ben

4.2 Table II.

	Present Perfect	Past Perfect
1 P	echi	echilam
2 P Inf.	echiś	echili
2 P Ord.	echo	echile
3 P Ord.	eche	echilo
2 and 3 P Hon.	echen	echilen

4.3 Table III.

	Present Continuous	Past Continuous
1 P	ichi	ichilam
	cchi	cchilam
	chi	chilam
2 P Inf.	ichiś	ichili
	cchiś	cchili
	chiś	chili
	icho	ichile
	ccho	cchile
	cho	chile
3 P Ord.	iche	ichilo
	cche	cchilo
	che	chilo
2 and 3 P Hon.	ichen	ichilen
	cchen	cchilen
	chen	chilen

5.2 Statement 2:

(a) The basic allomorph of class 2 viz. /bɔś/ 'to sit'[1] has the same privileges as that covered by the statement 1(a) except that: it does not take the 2 p. imp. suffix -Ø.

(b) The non-basic or higher alternant of class 2 viz. /boś-/ has the same privileges as those covered by statement 1(b). /boś-/ also occurs before the 2 p. imp. suffix -Ø.

5.3 Statement 3:

(a) The basic allomorphs of classes 4 (CV_oV_i, e.g. śoi- 'to endure'), 7 (CV_uV_i, e.g. dui- 'to milk') and 13 (CV_aV_i, e.g. bai-, 'to row') occur before the following:

(i) -ba(-r) 'verbal noun'

(ii) imperfective -te, and the desinences containing -Ø allomorph of the imperfective morpheme viz. the present continuous and past continuous desinences

(iii) -le 'conditional'

(iv) the desinences of which the first morpheme is -l- 'past'

---

[1] /bɔś-/ is the only verb comprising class 2.

(v) the desinences of which the first morpheme is -t 'past habitual'

(vi) the desinences of which the first morpheme is -b- 'future'

(b) The non-basic allomorphs śo-, du- and be- occur before the following:

(i) perfective -e, and the desinences containing this morpheme, viz. present perfect and past perfect desinences

(ii) -o '2 p. ord. fut. imp.'

but,

(c) śo- and du- also occur before:

(i) -i '1 p. pr. hab.'

(ii) -ś '2 p. inf. pr. hab. and fut. imp.'

(iii) -ke '3 p. ord. imp./opt.'

(iv) -n '2 and 3 p. hon. imp/opt.'

(d) the non-basic allomorphs śɔ-, do- and -ba occur before:

(i) -e '3 p. ord. pr. hab.'

(ii) -n '3 p. hon. pr. hab.'

(iii) -o '2 p. ord. pr. hab. and imp.'

but,

(e) -ba also occurs before the desinences which have been listed under (c) above.

5.4 Statement 4:

Class 11 composed by a single verb /aś/ is very similar to class 10 except that, in addition to its two allomorphs /aś-/ and /eś-/ matching with the corresponding allomorphic shapes of class 10, it has two more allomorphs /ae/ and /e/.

(a) The allomorph /ae/ (and not the basic allomorph /aś-/) takes the imperative suffix Ø.

(b) The allomorph /e-/ is a stylistic variant of /aś-/ in some contexts. The contexts are:

(i) the conditional suffix /-le/.

(ii) the desinences beginning with the past morpheme /-e-/.[1]

The following describes the distributional behaviour of the allomorphs of class 10 as well as those situations of class 11 which have not been covered by the statements (a) and (b) above.

The basic allomorphs of classes 10 and 11 occur everywhere except before the following desinences where the higher allomorphs occur:

---

[1] Note that the conditional morpheme /-le/ begins with the phoneme /l/; and the past morpheme also is phonemically /l/. Hence, we could say that /aš/ stylistically varies with /e/ whenever any morpheme beginning with /l/ follows.

(i) perfective /-e/, and the desinences containing the perfective /-e/ as the first morpheme.
(ii) future imperative /-o/.

5.5 Statement 5:

The basic allomorphs of the verbs representing class 12 (CV_a, e.g. pa- 'to get') occur in all the environments except before the following desinences where the non-basic alternants (= higher alternants) occur.

(i) imperfective suffix /-te/.
(ii) conditional suffix /-le/.
(iii) future imperative /-o/.
(iv) desinences having the past /-l/ as the initial morpheme
(v) perfective /-e/, and the desinences containing the perfective /-e/ as the first component

5.6 Statement 6:

The class 14 is represented by a single verb /ach-/ 'to be', which is a defective verb. It has two allomorphs: /ach-/ and /ch-/. The following describes the limited distribution of the two allomorphs:

(a) The allomorph /ach-/ occurs before the personal suffixes to form the present perfect forms.

(b) The allomorph /ch-/ occurs before the past morpheme /-l-/ (which is followed by the personal suffixes) to form the past (=semantically past perfect) tense forms.

As this is a perfective root it can form no other tenses except those which are semantically and formationally perfect. Other tense suffixes are incompatible with it.

5.7 Statement 7:

The class 16 consists of a suppletive verb. The allomorphs are: /ja- ~ je- ~ gæ- ~ ge- ~ gi-/ 'to go'. The following describes the distribution of the different allomorphs:

(a) the allomorph /ja-/ occurs before all the desinences except the following where the other allomorphs occur:

(b) je- occurs before:

(i) perfective -e

(ii) imperfective -te

(c) gæ- occurs before:

(i) -lo '3 p. past'

(ii) -cho '2 p. ord. perf.'

(iii) -che '3 p. ord. perf.'

(iv) -chen '3 p. hon. perf.'

(d) ge- occurs before:

(i) -le 'conditional'

(ii) all the desinences having -l- past as the initial morpheme except /-lo/ '3 p. past' before which /gæ/ occurs (see (c) above).

(iii) -chi '1 p. perfect'

(e) /gi-/ occurs before:

(i) perfective /-e/[1], and the desinences

---

[1] Note that the following stylistic free variations occur:

(a) free variation between a sequence of allomorphs belonging to more than one morpheme and another sequence of allomorphs of the same morphemes:

(i) $$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{gæ-ch}\\ \text{gi-e-ch}\end{matrix}\right\} \quad \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{-o}\\ \text{-e}\\ \text{-en}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

(ii) $$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ge-ch}\\ \text{gi-e-ch}\end{matrix}\right\} \quad \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{-i}\\ \text{-il-P}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

(continued II. 3.16.)

having the perfective /-e/ as the
first morpheme

6.0 The derivative verbs

In Bengali there is a large number of derivative verbs. These can be grouped under two different classes:

(i) Primary derivatives, and
(ii) Secondary derivatives

These verbs are called derivatives because the stems of these are derived from their respective bases with the addition of the derivative morpheme /a ~ i ~ o ~ u ~ ∅/.

6.1 The Primary derivatives:

The primary derivatives derive their name from the fact that the primary verb stems form the bases of these. Note that all the basic stems belonging to the primary verb classes except 4, 7 and 13 form the corresponding basic derivative stems with the addition of the allomorph /a/. Thus /kora-, dækha-, khawa-, dæwa/

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[1] Continued from II. 3.15.

(b) Free variation between /je-/ and /gi-/ when the perfective morpheme /-e/ follows.

etc. are derived from /kɔr/ 'to do', /dækh/ 'to see', /kha-/ 'to eat' and /de/ 'to give' respectively. In forming the basic stems in 4, 7 and 13, the stem final /i/ is dropped and the allomorph /a/ is added.[1]

6.2 All primary derivative verbs are semantically causative. It is pertinent to mention that all primary derivative verbs are transitive irrespective of whether they are derived from transitive or intransitive verbs. However, there is an important point to note here: the verbs derived from transitive verbs have the potentiality of taking two objects, while those which are derived from intransitive verbs are capable of taking one object. The different conjugational forms are obtained by the addition of the desinences described in connection with the primary conjugation. The process of stem alternance with which we have already become familiar is equally operative in derivative conjugation except in cases where the stem vowel is /a/. The derivative morpheme has two alternants /a/ and /i/. The following describes the exclusive environments of each alternants.

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[1] In some styles of speaking all vowel-final primary stems form the derivative stems with the addition of /oa/ instead of /a/. Thus /kɔr-a/ 'to do' but /kha-oa/ 'to eat'. Note that phonetically /-o/ of /oa/ is a semivowel and the non-phonemic syllable juncture divides the word into two syllables [khao] and [a].

(a) Alternant /i/ appears:

(i) before the future imperative/optative desinence /-o/.

(ii) before the past participle desinence /-e/, and

(iii) before all the desinences employing the past participle /-e/ as the core

(b) Before all other desinences the alternant /a/ occurs. Some illustrations are given below:

Base	Pres. Ind. (1 P.)	Past. Part.	Fut. Imp. /Opt.	Gloss
kha-	kha-wa-i	kha-i-e	kha-i-o	to make one eat
kɔr	kɔr-a-i	kor-i-e	kor-i-o	to make one to do
dækh	dækh-a-i	dekh-i-e	dekh-i-o	to make one see

6.2.1 The Secondary derivatives:

The derivative verbs belonging to this class do not derive the stems from the primary verb bases; or in other words, the bases from which the derivative stems are formed do not have primary verb conjugation. Some of these bases are recognizably nouns; others are of unidentified provinience, and occur only as bases of derivative stems.[1] Whatever might be the base, these are called secondary derivatives. According to different canonical shapes of the bases, the secondary derivatives are brought under two different sub-classes: X and Y.

6.2.2 The sub-class X:

The sub-class X is comprised of CVC and CVCV bases. Both CVC and CVCV bases have high-low vowel alternance except in cases where the base vowel is /a/. The derivative morpheme has the allomorphs /a ~ o ~ u ~ i ~ ∅/. The allomorph /i/ is always determined by the past participle morpheme /e/, the desinences having the past participle morpheme as their core, and the future imperative/operative desinence /o/. Before this derivative allomorph /i/ the CVCV bases drop the final vowel. Before some tense-desinences, however, the CVCV bases are maintained intact, and in such situations the derivative allomorph is /∅/.

---

[1] Derivative stems are theoretically derived from non-derivative stems having independent use. However, no such non-derivative stems can be reckoned as sources for the members of our second category of derivative stems and thus it might seem that they should properly be labelled as forming a category of primary stems. But this solution is untenable on the ground that they like all other primary verbs cannot form the corresponding derivative stems with the addition of /a/. It appears that these might better be treated as a special class of secondary derivative stems. The non-derivative sources of these are obsolete today, but can be reconstructed through a comparison of the Bengali dialects according to the principles of historical linguistics.

The allomorphs /a, o/ and /u/ are generally phonologically conditioned, though in some cases they are freely variant. Compare the following:

Base	Pres. Ind. (1 p.)	Past. Part.	Fut. Imp/ Opt.	Gloss
chɔṛ-	chɔṛ-a-i	choṛ-i-e	choṛ-i-o	to scatter
bæṛ-	bæṛ-a-i	beṛ-i-e	beṛ-i-o	to walk
pich	pich-o-i	pich-i-e	pich-i-o	to fall back
pech	pich-u-i pech-a-i pech-o-i pech-u-i	pech-i-e	pech-i-o	
kil[1]	kil-o-i kil-u-i	kil-i-e	kil-i-o	to beat with fist
phur	phur-o-i	phur-i-e	phur-i-o	to be exhausted
khəṛ	khõṛ-a-i	khũṛ-~~i-e~~	khũṛ-i-e	to limp
ghum	ghum-o-i	thum-i-e	thum-i-o	to sleep
juto	jut-o-i	jut-i-e	jut-i-o	to beat with shoes

---

[1] The items /kil, khõr, ghum/ and /juto/ and commonly found to appear as nouns. They mean 'beating with the fist, lame man, sleep' and 'shoe' respectively.

6.3.1 The sub-class Y:

The bases of the sub-class Y have the shapes CVVC and CVCC. Both CVVC and CVCC cases employ the derivational allomorph /i/ or its variant /∅/, both before the past participle desinence /e/ and the desinences employing the past participle /e/ as their core. The allomorph /i/ in some instances freely varies with /∅/. The allomorph /∅/, however, freely varies with /u/ if the following desinence is phonologically /i/, or begins with /i/. Compare the following:

Base	Pres. Ind. (1 p.)	Past. Part.	Fut. Imp./ Opt.	Gloss
śẵtr[1]	śẵtr-a-i	śẵtr-i-e śẵtr-∅-e	śẵtr-i-o śẵtr-∅-o	to swim
kamṛ[1]	kamṛ-a-i	kamṛ-i-e kamṛ-∅-e	kamṛ-i-o kamṛ-∅-o	to bite
dhamś	dhamś-a-i	dhamś-i-e dhamś-∅-e	dhamś-i-o dhamś-∅-o	to thrash
douṛ[1]	douṛ-o-i douṛ-u-i	douṛ-i-e douṛ-∅-e	douṛ-i-o douṛ-∅-o	to run
pŏ̃uch	pŏ̃uch-o-i pŏ̃uch-u-i	pŏ̃uch-i-e pŏ̃uch-∅-e	pŏ̃uch-i-l pŏ̃uch-∅-o	to reach

---

[1] The stems /śẵtr-/ and /kamṛ/ are alternants of the nouns /śẵtr/ 'swimming' and /kamor/ 'biting'. The stem /douṛ-/ appears also as the noun /douṛ/ 'running'.

The table above reveals that each of the stems has two forms in past participle[1] and future imperative/optative. Our previous statement that the two forms are free variants describes the practice of the majority of the speakers, writers and readers. So far as the rest of the people are concerned, we have to look at these forms somewhat differently. There is a group of people in whose speech and writing the two forms do not occur as free-variants, but are contrasting. The forms with the allomorph /i/ function as causative[2]; the other set with the allomorph /0/ functions as non-causative.

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[1] This situation applies equally to all forms having those desinences in which participle /e/ forms the core.

[2] Note that except for this set of causative forms existing in a minor group of idiolect no other secondary derivative verbs are seman-ically causative.

II. Syntax

1.0 Bengali verb phrase (VP) consists minimally of a verb stem (e.g. kha- 'to eat') but is preceded by one or more noun phrase if the verb stem is of the transitive class (e.g. ami bhat khai 'I eat rice'). A verb phrase may be preceded by one or more adverbial phrases (e.g. ami roj bhat khai 'I eat rice every day').

2.0 The verb phrase is followed by a post-verbal constituent. It includes the tense suffixes /-l-/ ('past'), /-t-/ ('past habitual') and /-b-/ ('future') plus the negative na, abbreviated neg. (ami roj bhat khai na 'I do not eat rice every day').

3.0 Expansion of the VP:

$$\text{VP} \quad \text{----->} \quad \text{(Pre V)} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} V_p \\ V_b \end{matrix} \right\} \text{Post V (neg.)} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} V_p \\ V_b \end{matrix}} \right\}$$

There are two types of verbs: (I) predicative verbs V_p and (II) non-predicative verbs V_b. The V_p (e.g. ach- 'to be', ho- 'to become') have their subjects in the genitive.

All V_p have non-predicative counterparts which are phonologically identical with the predicative verbs. These predicative and non-predicative verbs present situations which are apparently ambiguous.

amar pakhi ache	'My bird is (exists)'
amar pakhi ache	' I have a bird'

In the first sentence *amar* is syntactically related to *pakhi*. In the second sentence *amar* is in relationship with *ache*. Properly transcribed they would be:

amar + pakhi ache
amar pakhi + ache

V_b phrases are of three types: transitives (V_{tr}) which may be preceded by object nominals, intransitives (V_{intr}) which may not, and middle verbs (V_{mid}) which though potentially preceded by objects, do not participate either in the passive (*ami bhat khabo* 'I will eat rice' ----> *amar bhat khaoa hɔbe*) or in the impersonal (*ami jabo* 'I will go' ----> *amar jaoa hɔbe*) transformations, as do V_{tr} and V_{intr} respectively. Another restriction on V_{mid} is that it, like predicative verbs, must take the subject in the genitive. Sometimes, they may be preceded by an adverbial phrase. Therefore we may expand the V_b thus:

$$V_b \dashrightarrow (\text{Adv P}) \left\{ \begin{array}{lll} (\text{NP}) & & V_{tr} \\ & & V_{intr} \\ (\text{NP}) & (\text{AP}) & V_{mid} \end{array} \right\}$$

V_{intr} are different from the V_{tr} not merely because they do not take noun phrase (NP) objects as V_{tr} do, but also because they enter into certain exclusive types of transformations. The syntactical structure of a sentence having a subject NP and a V_{intr} can be mirrored in a transformed sentence where the intransitive verb can form a modifier (with the addition of derivative suffix /-a/ to the verb base) the subject NP, e.g. pata jhore 'leaves (a leaf) fall ----> jhora pata 'fallen leaves'. Transitive verbs behave very differently, e.g. jele mach dhore 'the fisherman catches fish' but not *dhora jele 'caught fisherman'. But the verb compounded with the object NP can modify the subject, e.g. mach-dhora jele 'fish-catching fisherman'. Also legitimate is jeler dhora mach 'fish caught by the fisherman'. In the transformed sentence a transitive verb modifies the object NP and not the subject NP, as does V_{intr}. V_{tr} can modify the subject NP only when it is compounded with the object NP.

Some V_{intr}, however, do not modify the subject NP in a transformed sentence. These verbs usually denote bodily or physical state or function, e.g. 'to urinate', 'to excrete', 'to laugh', 'to weep' etc. e.g. *baccaṭi* *kãde* 'the baby cries' but not **kãda* *bacca*. These V_{intr} which behave more like V_{tr} in transformation may be classed as 'pseudo-intransitives'. Thus V_{intr} can be expanded as:

V_{intr} ------> $V_{intr\ 1}$ pseudo-intransitives

$V_{intr\ 2}$ the rest of the intransitives

The V_{mid} are different from both V_{tr} and V_{intr}. There are two sub-sets of V_{mid}:

1) One sub-set takes subjects in the genitive and objects (= topic of comment) in the objective, e.g. *amar* *ṭunuke* *bhalo* *lage* 'I like Ṭunu (a proper noun)'.

(2) The other sub-set does not take any subject but may take an object, e.g. *piluke* *ei* *šaje* *manae* 'Pilu looks well in this dress' or 'this dress look well on Pilu'.

Compound Verbs

The V_1 + affix + V_2 sequences are traditionally labelled 'compound verbs', e.g. *še dekhte thakbe* 'he will continue to see' as against *še dekhbe* 'he will see'.

When it is written, a compound verb may seem ambiguous, e.g. *še kheye ašche* may mean 1) he has been continually eating or 2) he is coming after eating. But phonemic transcription resolves this ambiguity:

1)	še 'kheye' + ašche	he has been eating continually
2)	še 'kheye' ašche	he is coming after eating

There are two more ways to resolve the ambiguity.

a) By transforming the sentence, we find that sentence 1) illustrates the formula V_1 + affix + V_2. Sentence 2) would have a transformation as:

NP	VP		NP	VP_2		
še	khacche	+	še	ašche	---->	še khee ašche
He is eating			he is coming			he is coming after eating

b) The potential insertibility of other lexical items before the second verb provides another way of resolving the ambiguity. Where the second verb is independent 1) NP can be inserted before it, if it is transitive, 2) AdvP can be inserted irrespective of the verbal category. e.g. *še poṛe phelbe* 'he will throw away (something) after reading', may be expanded to *še boiṭa poṛe ṭebiler tolae phelbe* 'he will throw the book under the table after reading it'. But if (še) *poṛe phelbe* is used as a compound verb meaning (he) will read (it) completely nothing can be inserted between *poṛe* and *phelbe*, because the compound verb is a tightly closed unit.

There are altogether twenty-two verbs which can function as V_2. These are: 1) boś- 'to sit', 2) oṭh- 'to get up', 3) thak- 'to stay', 4) ja- 'to go', 5) aś- 'to come', 6) col- 'to move', 7) ach- 'to be', 8) de- 'to give', 9) pa- 'to get', 10) par- 'to be able', 11) lag- 'to strike, to engage oneself', 12) chaṛ- 'to release', 13) dækh- 'to see', 14) ne- 'to take', 15) mɔr- 'to die', 16) bãc- 'to live', 17) phæl- 'to throw away', 18) tol- 'to raise', 19) an- 'to bring',

20) rakh- 'to keep', 21) poṛ- 'to fall',
22) dãṛ- 'to stand'.

There are important restrictions determining (1) the selection of particular categories of V_1 verbs (transitive, intransitive and pseudo-intransitive) by the particular V_2 verbs, and (2) the possibility of combination of either or both of the two affixes (-e and -te) with particular categories of V_1 verbs. Assuming that V_2 verbs impose restrictions both upon the selection of V_1 verbs and the affixes that the V_1 verbs are capable of taking, we can group the V_2 verbs as follows:

1) V_2 combining with trans $\frac{e}{te}$ and intrans $\frac{e}{te}$

bɔś
oṭh
thak
ja
aś
cɔl
ach

2) Combining with trans $\frac{te}{e}$ and intrans -te

de

3) Combining with trans -te and intrans -te

pa

par

lag

4) Combining with trans-e and intrans-e

chaṛ

dækh

ne

mɔr

bãc

5) Combining with trans-e

phæl

tol

an

rakh

6) Combining with intrans-e

pɔṛ

dãṛ

When these distributional details of V_2 verbs are presented in a chart, they look like:

	Trans/te	Intrans/te	Trans/te	Intrans/e
bɔś	x	x	x	x
oṭh-	x	x	x	x
thak-	x	x	x	x
ja-	x	x	x	x
aś	x	x	x	x
cɔl	x	x	x	x
ach-	x	x	x	x
de-	x	x	x	
pa-	x	x		
par-	x	x		
lag-	x	x		
char-			x	x
dækh-			x	x
ne-			x	x
mɔr-			x	x
bãc-			x	x
phæl			x	
tol-			x	
an-			x	
rakh-			x	
pɔr-				x
dãṛ				x

Meanings of Compound Verbs

Trans Intrans/-te +	boś-	to be ready to do V_1, prepared; the notion of a time consuming task is involved
	oṭh-	to be poised, eager and ready for doing V_1 intensely; impending change into sudden motion from a passive state is implied
	thak-	to do V_1 continuously; (*thak* does not occur with all V_1 and does not have all tense forms)
	ja-	to make a gesture or move toward doing V_1 (outgoing from the situation of the speaker)
	aś-	to make a gesture or move toward doing V_1 (incoming gesture toward scene of conversation) If the main action is taking place at a distance, use *ja-*; if it is taking place at or in

	the vicinity of the conversation, use aś-
col-	to be on the verge of doing V_1 (more immediate than boś- and oṭh-).
de-	to allow to do V_1, or to precipitate action by an agent
pa-	to be allowed to do V_1, by circumstances as well as people
par-	to be able to do V_1; par- is a bound verb, i.e. it can never function as V_1 *kajṭa pari is impossible kajṭa korte pari is possible Thus par- may form a separate class
lag-	to continue to do V_1

/-e + boś-	to do V_1 suddenly or unexpectedly

ọth-	to be in a position to do V_1 or to do V_1 intensely, changing from a passive state
thak-	to have the possibility of doing V_1
ja-	to go on doing V_1; contextual; sometimes 'usually' is implied
aś-	to go on doing V_1; non-contextual; sometimes either *aś* or *ja* can be used interchangeably
cɔl-	to go on doing V_1
ach-	present perfect and past perfect tenses
de-	to do V_1 for someone else's benefit * (generally acts as an agentative factor)
pa- par- lag-	do not occur with -e

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* But cheṛe-, bheŋe-, pheh-, etc. exceptions to this rule

1) $$\text{NPVP Post V ---->}\quad \begin{array}{l}\text{NP}\\ \text{-ke}\\ \text{-r}\\ \text{-e}\end{array} + \begin{array}{l}\text{VP}\\ \text{-te}\end{array}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{hɔ}\\ \text{ach}\\ \text{nei}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{Post V}$$

The verb hɔ- can occur in all tenses but only in the third person. nei occurs only in the third person present tense.

$$\text{ami jabo --->}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{amake}\\ \text{amar}\\ \text{amae}\end{array}\right\}\quad \begin{array}{l}\text{jete hɔbe}\\ \text{I will have to go}\end{array}$$

2) $$\text{NPVP Post V ---->}\ \text{NP}_r + \text{VP}_a + \text{hɔ PostV}$$

apni (kothay) thaken ----> apnar (kothay) thaka hɔe

ami mach khai ----> amar mach khawa hɔe

3) Pair transformation

$$\text{NP}_1 + \text{VP}_1\ \text{Post V plus}\ \text{NP}_2 + \text{VP}_2\ \text{PostV ---->}$$
$$\text{NP}_r + \underset{a}{\text{VP}_1} + \text{VP}_2\ \text{PostV}$$

ami mach khai ta amar ghŭcbe (come to an end) --->

amar mach khawa ghucbe

VP_2 in this type of transformation consists of this class of verbs:

hɔ	ja	baṛ
ghos	posa	thak

ach	phuro	lag
aś	kom	

4) With VP_2 mana- and śaj- ; selection of subject in both objective and genitive

NP_1VP_1PostV + NP_2VP_2PostV ---->

$\underset{\substack{\text{r}\\ \text{ke}\\ \text{e}}}{NP_1}$ VP_{1_a} + VP_2 PostV

ami ei koṭṭa porechi ta $\underset{\text{-e}}{\text{amake}}$ manay ni --->

ama $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{r}\\ \text{ke}\\ \text{e}\end{Bmatrix}$ ei koṭṭa pora manay ni

5) NP_1VP PostV plus NP_1VP_2 PostV ---> $NP_1VP_{1_e}$ + VP_2

śe bhat khabe ---> śe bhat kheye (amake boi) debe*
śe (amake boi) debe

6) NP_1VP Post V plus $\begin{Bmatrix}NP_1\\ NP_2\end{Bmatrix}$ VP_2 Post V --->

$NP_1VP_{1_{le}}$ + $\begin{Bmatrix}NP_1\\ NP_2\end{Bmatrix}$ + VP_2 PostV

śe bhat khabe
---> śe bhat khele (dokane) jabe
śe (dokane) jabe

---

* explanation at close of section, II. 3.37.

śe bhat khabe
ami jabo ---> śe bhat khele ami jabo

7) NP_1VP_1PostV plus $NP_2VP_2Post\ V$ ----

$NP_2VP_{1_a}$ + $VP_2Post\ V$

śe chobi ãke
ami ta dekhlam ---> ami take chobi ãkte dekhlam

('I saw his painting of the picture', his act of painting)

8) $NP_1VP_1Post\ V$ plus NP_2VP_2PostV ---->

$NP_2NP_{1_{te}}$ + VP_2PostV

śe chobi ãke
ami take dekhlam ---> ami take chobi ãkte dekhlam

('I saw him painting the picture', him in the act)

or

śe gan gay
ami take dekhechi ---> ami take gan gaite dekhechi

---

*kernel sentence + transformed sentence:
śe baŋla deśe jabe + śe gan śikhte cay
(se gan sekhae + se cay)
śe baŋla deśe gie gan śikhte cay

Phrase-stem

1.0 A phrase substitutes for a stem in a noun or a verb word, and is characterized by the occurrence of words as one or more nonnuclear immediate constituent elements within the sequence that substitutes for the stem. Phrases may often be complex, in as much as one phrase may contain amother phrase as one or more of the immediate elements. The following classification is based on the type of linkage between the successive elements in a phrase. As will be seen, the predominant pattern is regressive syntax.

2.0 Subordinate phrases. The external distribution of these is controlled by the final element, which may be called the phrase nucleus, preceded as it is by the phrase prenucleus. These subtypes occur:

2.1 Noun, with any suffix, as nucleus.

2.1.1 Caseless noun as prenucleus. This has the meaning of a specification out of a general class indicated by the nucleus. e.g.

/kɔ babu/ 'Mr. A.' /še deš/ 'that very country' /car hajar/ 'four thousand' /gopal mašṭar/ 'Teacher Gopal' /lal phul/ 'red flowers' /beši dur/ 'very far' /aro dur/ 'still farther'.

2.1.2 Finite verb as prenucleus. In meaning this is a subtype of 2.1.1. e.g.
/ašche kal/ 'tomorrow (the coming other day)'
/gælo bɔchor/ 'last year (the has gone year)'

2.1.3 Locative noun as prenucleus. This means a place or an instrument for the thing or the action indicated by the nucleus. e.g. /ãdhare jhãp/ 'a leap into the dark' /mathae pagṛi/ 'a turban on the head' /hate bona/ 'handwoven' /nile nil/ 'quite blue (blue on blue, blue by blue)'

2.1.4 Genitive noun as prenucleus. e.g. /gorur gaṛi/ 'ox-cart' /kajer kɔtha/ 'a serious proposition (word for work)' /lohar caka/ 'an iron wheel'

2.1.5 Genitive verbal noun as prenucleus. Verbal nominalisor -a and genitive -r are freely replaced by -bar. e.g.

/bɔlar kɔtha ~ bolbar kɔtha/ 'the thing to say';
/kɔrar ~ korbar kaj/ 'the work to be done';
/thakar ~ thakbar jayga/ 'the place to stay'.

2.1.6. Objective noun as prenucleus. This means that an exceptional unit of counting the mass indicated by the nucleus. e.g.
/gramke gram/ 'entire villages (villages counted by villages)' /ramke ram/ 'even (such an exceptional person as) Ram'.

2.1.7. Nonfinite verb as prenucleus. e.g.
/lekha ciṭhi/ 'a written letter' /dekhte bhɔdrolok/ 'a gentleman by appearance (to see)'

2.2 Verb, with any suffix, as nucleus.

2.2.1 Conditional as prenucleus. This specifies a proposal. e.g.
/gele cɔle/ 'it is allowable to go' /korle paren/ 'you might as well do it'

2.2.2 Infinitive as prenucleus. This provides an explanation. e.g.
/khete gæchen/ 'has gone out to eat' /korte nebo/ 'I will take it upon myself to do it'

2.2.3 Participle as prenucleus. This names an activity the manner of executing which is indicated by the nucleus. e.g. /kore dao/ 'you help by doing it' /bole phello/ 'he blurted out'

2.2.4 Verbal noun as prenucleus. This specifies a potentiality. e.g. /newa hɔy/ 'it is customary to take it' /bɔla jabe/ 'it will be possible to say (tell) it'

2.2.5 Caseless noun as prenucleus. This is a mere technique for creating new verbs in the language. e.g. /ṭeligram kɔra/ 'to send a telegram' /khub boleche/ 'has spoken very much, has spoken very often' /ašcorjo kɔra/ 'to surprise' /ašcorjo hɔwa/ 'to be surprised (to be a surprise)'

2.2.6 Finite verb as prenucleus. In meaning this is a subtype of 2.2.5, and is frequently the equivalent of a 'that ...' clause in English. e.g. /jabo bolechi/ 'I have said that I will go' /jacchi janabo/ 'I will notify that I am going there'

2.2.7 Locative noun as prenucleus. e.g. /pɔthe bošlo/ 'was ruined (sat on the street)'

/hate kaṭbe/ 'will wreak vengeance (cut up with bare hands)' /hate rakha/ 'to keep in reserve (to put away in hand)'

2.2.8 Genitive noun as prenucleus. e.g. /nijer dækha/ 'to look after one's own, to look upon as one's own' /hater phele jhoper dhɔra/ 'to throw away what is in hand in order to catch what is in the bush'

2.2.9 Negative as prenucleus. This implies conditionality. e.g.
/na eš̌eche/ 'if he has not come' /na aš̌e/ 'if he does not come' /na aš̌be/ 'if he will not come' /na aš̌te/ 'when he did not come' /na aš̌to/ 'if he did not use to come'

3.0 Superordinate phrases. The external distribution is controlled by the initial included element, which may still be called the nucleus, followed by the postnucleus. These subtypes occur:

3.1 Emphasizer as postnucleus. e.g. /eš̌echei/ 'has certainly come' /khub-i/ 'certainly very much'

3.2 Negative as postnucleus. e.g. /kaṭbe na/ 'will not cut it up' /bhalo na/ 'not good, not well'

3.3 Demonstrative as post nucleus. e.g. /ukil ta jani/ 'I know that he is a lawyer.' /jaben šeṭa bhalo/ 'It is good that he will go.'

4.0 Parordinate phrases. See also II.6. Two nuclei of equal status. There is nothing like this kind of structure in English. These subtypes occur:

4.1 Twin. The same nucleus is repeated exactly. The meaning is incompleteness, approximation, unevenness or multiplicity 'many, most, almost'. e.g.
/ghoṛa ghoṛa/ 'horselike' /lal lal/ 'reddish, many red ones' /bar bar/ 'time and again' /ghɔre ghɔre/ 'in one house after another, in most houses' /korchi korchi/ 'on the verge of doing the thing' /gælo gælo/ 'on the verge of having gone off' /hæ̃ hæ̃/ 'Yes (with a connotation of reassurance, not impatience)' /jabe jabe/ 'as if intending to go' /jete jete/ 'before starting to go, before the journey is completed'

/pɔr pɔr/ 'one after another' /pɔre pɔre/ 'at intervals' /din din/ 'day by day' /dine dine/ 'by days (not nights)'

4.2 Echo. The same nucleus is repeated with a requisition. The meaning is inclusion of associate conjoint or disjoint possibilities.

4.2.1 With an obligatory initial consonant, usually /ṭ/, less commonly /ph/, rarely /š/, e.g. /ghoṛa ṭoṛa/ 'horse or like' /ašbe ṭašbe/ 'will come or something' /rumal phumal/ 'handkerchief or like' /moṭa šoṭa/ 'stoutish'

4.2.2 With an obligatory vowel /a/. e.g. /bhul bhal/ 'error or like' /moṭ maṭ/ 'rough aggregate' /chim cham/ 'neat' /pher phar/ 'turns of various kinds'

4.2.3 With an obligatory vowel /a/ suffixed to the first nucleus. e.g.
/dɔma dɔm/ 'one bang after another' /kɔṛa kɔṛi/ 'strictness'

4.2.4 With a pattern of vowel valuation /a a a i/, /a a e i/, /e a i i/, /ɔ a o i/ or /o a u i/. e.g.

/kaṛakaṛi/ 'struggle to obtain' (/kaṛa/ 'to snatch') /ṭhælaṭheli/ 'a milling crowd' (/ṭhæla/ 'to push') /jetajiti/ 'distinction between winning and losing' (/jeta/ 'to win') /dhɔradhori/ 'importunation, influence' (/dhɔra/ 'to importunate') /moṭamuṭi/ 'roughly' (/moṭ/ 'aggregate, luggage') /laṭhalaṭhi/ 'a fight' (/laṭhi/ 'a stick') /šoja šuji/ 'directly' (/šoja/ 'straight')

4.3. Polarity. Two words of synonymous, antonymous or associate meaning. The phrase as a whole indicates generalization, inclusion of all conceivable alternatives within that class of which the given two are examples. e.g. /ma bap/ 'protector (mother, father)' /bagh bhaluk/ 'ferocious beasts (tiger, bear)' /ũcu nicu/ 'unevenness, inequality (high, low)' /du tin/ 'a few (two or three)' /rajaujir/ 'very important persons (King, minister)'

5.0 Coordinate phrases. Two or freely more nuclei of equal status. The phrase as a whole indicates a set of choices that may be made without restriction to number or rank. e.g. /ram šæm/ 'Ram and Shyam, Ram or Shyam' /lɔmba šikkhito/ 'tall, educated ...' /jabe thagbe/ 'will go, stay ...'

6.0 Included clause. This is a sequence that would in other texts and rather more commonly manifest a complete clause. For example the phrase /apni jaben janiechi/ 'I have informed (them) that you will go' may be regarded as a complex phrase for which the prenucleus is a simple phrase of the included clause type, namely /apni jaben/ 'you will go' a pronoun subject /apni/ followed by a predicate /jaben/.

7.0 Complex phrases. Sequences of three or more words substituting in a clause element are classified into three subtypes.

7.1 String structure. This is exhibited by expansions of coordinate phrase structure. e.g. /ram šæm jodu/ 'Ram and Shyam and Jadu, Ram or Shyam or Jadu' /lɔmba šikkhito šɔmponno/ 'tall, educated, wealthy ...' /jabe thagbe khabe/ 'will go, stay eat ...'

7.1.1 Series. This is a simple expansion as above.

7.1.2 Index. Each member of the sequence is a simple phrase with a conjunction as the leftmost nucleus. e.g.

/hɔy ram nɔy šæm nɔy jodu/ 'Either Ram, or Shyam or Jadu ...' /na jabe na thagbe na khabe/ 'will neither go nor stay nor eat ...'

7.1.3 Precadence. A simple series except that the last member is a simple phrase with a conjunction as prenucleus. e.g. /ram šæm ba jodu/ 'Ram, Shyam or Jadu' /jabe thagbe ar khabe/ 'will go, stay and eat'

7.1.4 Postcadence. A simple series except that the last member is a simple phrase with an emphasizer postnucleus. e.g. /ramer šæmer joduri/ 'of Ram, of Shyam, of Jadu too' /jabe thagbe khabew/ 'will go, stay, even eat'

7.2 Loop structure. This is an expansion in which the prenucleus contains another phrase. e.g. /šotturer mukhe chai diye/ 'with ash thrown upon the face of the enemies (frustrating and humiliating them)' /strir culer kãtar/ 'of the pin of the hair of the wife' /likhte nite dite/ 'to allow to take it upon oneself to write it'

7.3 Layer structure. This is an expansion in which a nucleus contains another phrase. e.g.

/jabew na/ 'will not even go' /nil-jama-gay chele/ 'the boy (who has) a blue shirt on (his) body' /rajar bɔṛo cheler praner bondhur prothoma strir gɔlar muktar har/ 'the string of pearls on (of) the neck of the first wife (wife-of-the-first-one) of the bosom friend (friend-of-life's-breath) of the eldest son (son-of-the-big-one) of the king'

8.0 Compound words differ from phrases in three negative potentialities only. An expansion cannot occur to interrupt the sequence, e.g. /amar bondhu/ 'my friend' /amar ɔnegdiner bondhu/ 'an old friend of mine' but */praner ɔnegdiner bondhu/ is not possible. A juncture cannot occur to interrupt the sequence, e.g. /bhalomanuš ~ bhalo + manuš/ 'good as a human being' but /bhalomanuš/ 'a timid person'. A stress cannot occur on any syllable other than the first or the last one. e.g. /cinebadam ~ cine + badam/ 'Chinese nuts' but /cinebádam/ 'peanuts'.

Sentences and Clauses

1. A sentence is most usefully defined for Bengali as a stretch of utterance marked at the end by a pause preceded by a nonmid pitch. There are consequently only eight sentences in the following passage, and part of the humor depends on the fact of the last sentence being normally two but here dovetailed into one.

```
 2 3    3    3        3       1 2          1
/porešbabu + kichukkhon + 'hotobhombo hoe

  1      2       3       2̄     3    2̄
roilen + kromošo tãr + 'mo:n holo je: =

 2 2    2 3     3̲         2                1  1
tini + 'oti du:rlo:bh + 'poroš pathor peechen

  2       2̄      1     2 2̲      2 1
+ 'ja chõale + 'sob dhatu + 'so:na hoe

1     2 2      2      2     2̲   1 2 2
jae + tini + 'hat + joṛ kore = kopale +

2     2        22          2    2     2  2̲
'be:r ba:r + ṭh.kate + ṭh.kate + bollen =

 1       1   1̄  1 2        2          2̄3̲
'joo:Y + ma kali ... to + 'da:Ya keno ma: =

1 2     2  3̲      1 1      3 3̲      1  1
hori + tumi:y + 'sotto + tu:mi:y + 'sotto

2 3    2 2       2      2̄       1 2
ali + lila + 'khelcho baba = 'sopno +
```

2 3 3
dekhchi na to; =/

'Mr. Paresh remained confused for some time. Gradually, he became aware that he had found the most rare Philosopher's Stone, that which by its touch turns everything into gold. He folded his palms together and touched his forehead with them many times, and said, "Victory to Mother Kali! Why are you being so kind, Mother? Lord Hari, you alone are the truth. You alone are the truth. What game are you playing now, Father? Can it be that I am dreaming? Will this come out?"

2. A clause is defined here for Bengali as any stretch of utterance terminating in a pause. There are therefore one to several clauses contained in every sentence. It is possible to classify types of sentences in accordance with the selection and arrangement of the clauses in it:

2.1. Conversation signals. An incomplete clause as the sole member.

3 3
2.1.1. Call. e.g. /pitthin=/ 'Prithvin'
3 3
2.1.2. Response. e.g. /ašchi=/ 'Coming'
2 1
2.1.3. Greeting. e.g. /'nɔmoškar=/ 'How are you? Fine, thank you (but more formal than either greeting in English)'

2.1.4. Announcement. e.g./ p$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$ron$\overset{2}{\text{o}}$ + 'k$\overset{2}{\text{a}}$go:$\overset{3}{\text{j}}$ =/ 'Old Paper! (cry of peddler collecting old paper)'

2.1.5. Postscript. e.g./$\overset{2}{\text{ɛ}}$k$\overset{2}{\text{ṛ}}$a + 'r$\overset{2}{\text{u}}$m$\overset{3}{\text{a}}$l + d$\overset{2}{\text{i}}$n $\overset{\bar{3}}{\text{t}}$o: = s$\overset{2}{\text{i}}lk\overset{3}{\text{e}}$r =/ 'Please give me a handkerchief, a silk one.'

2.2. Unitary. Only one clause, but a complete one. e.g. /ašame + 'bhumikɔmpo #/ 'Earthquake in Assam' /kal šɔkale + jabo #/ ' I shall go there tomorrow in the morning.' /uni + 'bærisṭari + kɔren #/ ' He is a prectising barrister (lawyer).'

2.3. Twin. Two clauses of strikingly parallel internal structure, with none to two connectives. e.g. /ami thaki = tumi jeo #/ 'Let me stay, you go.' /ami thaki = kintu tumi jeo #/ 'Let me stay, but you go.' /ami tahole thaki = kintu tumi jeo # / 'Let me stay then, but you go.'

2.4. Cadenced. A sequence of clauses of strikingly parallel internal structure, with an initial and/or a final clause of different structure. e.g. /onmi = gachete + 'phul phuṭlo = jɔler + 'hæ̃s uṛlo = dokkhim theke + 'haua dilo =bɔšonto + 'eše gælo #/ 'Right away, flowers blossomed on the trees, the geese flew off the waters, a breeze came up from the South; the Spring arrived.'

2.5 Parenthetic. A sequence of clauses that would have been a complete clause but for an intrusion. e.g. /ei kolomṭa = jar dam ɛk šo ṭaka = ami upohar peechi #/ 'This pen, the price of which is one hundred rupees, I got as a gift.' /purono Kašite = comotkar jayga # tãr ɛkṭa baṭi ache#/ 'In old Kashi (Banaras), (which is) a beautiful place, he has a house.'

2.6 Preambled. An incomplete clause before a complete clause. e.g. /kal=uni ɛkbar o ašen ni#/ 'Yesterday, he did not come even once.'

2.7 Anaphoric. A complete clause without a predicate before or after complete clause with predicate. e.g./ami sekhane = besikkhon thagbo na#/ 'I shall not stay there long.' /ami jarmani gechlam = amar bhai iŋlɛnḍ #/ 'I had gone to Germany, my brother to England.'

2.8 Fragmented. A sequence of incomplete clauses. e.g. /nilmoni = dirgho nissaś phele = manob jiboner śes obhiggõta + sorbottom gɛ̃ner bakkoṭi = abbritti kore = uṭhe = baṛir bhetore gelen # duniar = kar o bhalo korte ney#/ 'Nilmani sighed deeply, uttered the ulitmate experience of human life, the wisest saying of the world, got up, and went inside the house: in this world, it is not right to do good to anyone.'

2.9 Quotation. Two clauses with the first clause ending on mid falling or mid rising pitch on some verb meaning saying or hearing. e.g.
2 2 2 2̄ 2 2 1 2 1̲
/ami + 'sunlam = tumi + 'jabe nā #/ ' I heard that you would not go there.'

3. The number of clause types is very large and can only be analyzed in terms of four intertwined systems.

3.1 The system of concord potentials consists of the following elements:

3.1.1 The subject. This means the master, owner, sufferer or agent. There are four possible types of subject.

3.1.1.1. Nominative subject consists of a noun in the zero or nominative case, and permits any personal predicate other than with a nominal, deuteronominal or a conjunctive suffix. e.g. /ami jantam/ 'I knew it.' /ke aśben/ 'Who is it that will come?' /uni ele=/ 'If he comes...' /uni aśte=/ 'Just as he came over...' /śe eśeche/ 'He has come.'

3.1.1.2 Locative subject consists of a noun in the locative case, and permits any personal predicate other than those with a nominal, a dueteronominal, a first person, or any of the second person suffixes. e.g. /debtay niechen/ 'The gods have taken him.' /moše ghũ mereche/ 'Some buffalo has butted it.' /ɔneke bɔlen/ 'Many people say that...'

3.1.1.3 Dative subject consists of a noun in the dative case, and occurs only as optional variant of a genitive subject under the condition that the optional predicate must have /howa/ as the nuclear auxiliary verb preceded by some verb with the durative suffix. e.g. /amake jete jobe~amar jete hobe/ 'I have to go.' /tãke likhte holo~tãr likhte holo/ 'He had to write.'

3.1.1.4 Genitive subject consists of a noun in the genitive case, and permits only an impersonal predicate. e.g. /amar ache/ 'I have it (It is there as belonging to me.)' /tar ešeche/ 'He has something come for him' /apnar hobe/ 'You will come to have it.'

3.1.2 The predicate. This means the event as beginning, ending or continuing. Since there are 50 verb suffixes, one could speak of the same number of kinds of predicate. A more useful analysis is the division between personal and impersonal predicates.

3.1.2.1. Personal predicates have each a personal verb stem with any verb suffix, and permits only a nominative or, in restricted cases only, a locative subject. e.g. /še lagchilo/ 'He was picking on someone.' /še holo/ 'He became it.' /še cole/ 'He moves.' /še jacche/ 'He is going somewhere.'

3.1.2.2. Impersonal predicates have each an impersonal verb stem with an infinitive or a third ordinary person suffix, and permit only a genitive or, in restricted cases, a dative subject. e.g. /tar lagchilo/ 'He was being hurt.' /tar holo/ 'He acquired it.' /tar cole/ 'He makes a living. /tar jacche/ 'It is costing him.'

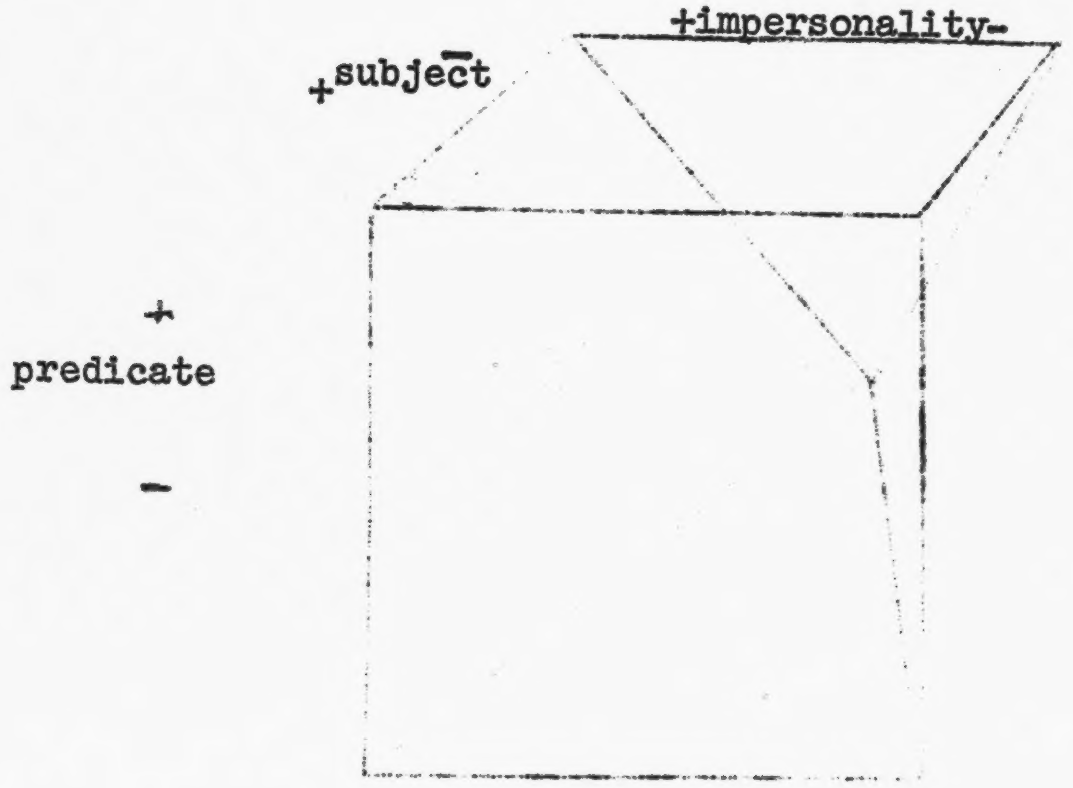
3.1.3. Neither a subject nor a predicate is obligatory in a Bengali clause, thereby necessitating the following concepts.

3.1.3.1. The frame is that element within a clause which is neither subject nor predicate nor modulator. e.g. /aj/ 'It is today.' /aj jabo/ 'I shall go today.' /uni aj ḍaktar/ 'He is a doctor now.' /uni ḍaktar/ 'He is a doctor.' /ciṭhi ṭebile/ 'The letters are on the table.' /nimontron kal/ 'The invitation is for tomorrow.'

3.1.3.2. Impredicative clauses imply no

specific tense and no specific verb meaning, and is therefore not usefully considered any kind of ellipsis. e.g. /ram šukhi/ 'Ram is happy.' /ram šukhe ache/ 'Ram is indeed a happy one.' /ram šukhi hɔy/ 'Ram gets happy.' /ram dillite/ 'Ram is at Delhi.' /ram dillite ache/ 'Ram is for the moment at Delhi.' /ram dillite hɔy/ 'Ram was born at Delhi.' /ram dillite thake/ 'Ram lives in Delhi.' /uni dilli jaben# sekhane ɔntoto æk bɔchor#/ 'He will go to Delhi this time. (It will be) at least a year there.' /boi sɔb puṛe chai hoyeche = to ki hoyeche # tumi to ogulo konokale poṛte na # tomar kache o chayer i šɔman # /What would you suggest that it has happened simply because those books have all been burnt to ashes? You never used to read them. For you they (were) quite like ashes.'

The formal structure of the system of concord potentials may be represented by the figure of a heptad:



Or, in terms of a set of formulas:

$$\text{Clause} = 1\ (\pm\text{predication})$$

$$\text{Predication}_{\text{impersonal}} = +(\pm\text{subject}_{\text{impersonal}} \pm \text{predicate}_{\text{impersonal}})$$

$$\text{Predication}_{\text{personal}} = \pm(+_{-}\text{subject}_{\text{personal}} \pm \text{predicate}_{\text{personal}})$$

3.2 The system of modulators. A modulator may occur not more than once in a Bengali clause, and thus must multiply by two the total number of clause types generated by the three systems described above. A modulator may occur alone to make up a clause, but this is rare. Apart from the specific meaning of a particular modulator, the presence of any modulator serves to play up the particular clause element, if any, immediately before it, though a modulator is not part of system of order positions to be described. e.g. /uni na 'asben/ 'Is it not true that he is coming?' /uni 'asben ki/ 'Is it true that he is coming?' /uni to 'kal asben/ 'May I take it that he is coming tomorrow?. /ka:l to:=/ 'May I take it as tomorrow?' /amader pitamɔho bromma = to+ 'manus nɔ:n=tai#/ 'Our Grandfather Brahma is not a human being; that is why.' /'$\overset{\bar{3}}{\text{na}}$=/ 'Is not it?' (modulator) /'$\overset{\underline{2}\bar{1}}{\overline{\text{na}}}$=/ 'No?' (negative)

3.3 The system of order positions consists of these elements:

3.3.1. The nucleus means a focussed upon generalization, and is always the last element in a clause, e.g. /ami esechi/ 'I have come,' /esechi ami/ 'The one who has come is me.' /tini ukil/ 'It is a lawyer that he is.' /ukil tini/ 'It is he who is the lawyer.' /kak kalo/ 'Crows are black.' /kalo kak/ 'Of black things there are crows.'

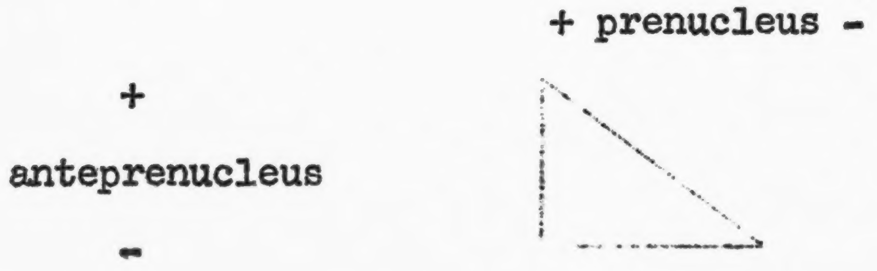
3.3.2. The prenucleus, which can be contrasted to the anteprenucleus only if the clause has more than two elements, means the relatively more inherent or general condition or limit to the generalization stated by the nucleus.

3.3.3. The anteprenucleus means one or more relatively accidental or transitory conditions or limits to the generalization stated by the nucleus. e.g. /bagh'moš mereche/ 'The tiger has killed the buffalo.' /mos'bagh mereche/ 'The buffalo has killed the tiger.' /moš'duṭo mereche/ 'He has killed two of the buffaloes.' /duṭo'moš mereche/ 'He has killed two buffaloes.' /bhalo 'phuṭbɔl khælen/ 'He plays football well.' /phuṭbɔl 'bhalo khælen/ 'He plays a good game of football.' /amar ækṭa purono'gaṛi chilo/ 'I had an old car.' /amar purono ækṭa'gaṛi chilo/ 'I had of old things a car.' /amar purono gaṛi'ækṭa chilo/ 'I had by way of old cars, just one.' /ækṭa'purono gaṛi chilo amar/ 'An old car was one of things I had.' /amar purono'gaṛi chilo ækṭa/ 'By way of old cars I did have one.' /amar'ækṭa chilo purono gaṛi/ 'I had once upon a time an old car.' /amar 'chilo ækṭa purono gaṛi/ 'What I had was an old car.' /amar chilo 'purono ækṭa gaṛi/ 'What I had was an old thing of a car.' /amar chilo'purono gaṛi ækṭa/ 'As regards my having anything like an old car, there was one.'

3.3.4. Any particular word or word substitute phrase that is an element of the concord potentials system of clause structure is also an element of the order positions system of clause structure.

But a modulator is never an element in either the concord or the order system. Thus, /kal rambabu jaben/ 'Tomorrow it will be Mr. Ram who will go.' is to be analyzed as /kal/. frame. anteprenucleus -- /rambabu/: subject; prenucleus -- /jaben/. predicate: nucleus.

The formal structure of the system of order positions may be represented by the figure of a triangle:



Or in terms of a formula:

$$\text{Clause} = \pm\ (\pm\text{anteprenucleus}^{1-n}\ +\text{prenucleus}) + \text{nucleus}$$

3.3.5. For a speaker of English, it is quite indispensable to depend on the following golden rule: translate from end backwards, and each word by a full clause. Although not cent per cent satisfactory, this rule is an immense improvement on others. Thus: /ram/ 'It is Ram.' /tar nam ram/ 'It is Ram that the name is (that is) of him.' /ache/ 'It is there.' /okhane ache/ 'It is there (that is) over yonder.' /amader okhane ache/ 'It is there (that is) over yonder (that is) with us.' /cheleṭa amader okhane ache/ 'It is there (that is) over yonder (that is) with us(that) the boy (is).'

3.3.6. The subject of Bengali clauses is therefore less like the main subject of English clauses than like a supplementary subject, such as poor fellow in the sentence He missed the bus, poor fellow. The same is true about what appears the object. Any apparent object of Bengàli is best compared to such supplementary objects of English as shown by those cigars in the sentence He kept all of them, those cigars.

3.3.7. A clause consisting of a nucleus alone may be called an incomplete clause, in the sense that its internal atructure is not distinguishable from that of a phrase.
Examples above.

3.3.8. An occasional problem arises in the segmentation of the elements. For instance,
/amar khawa hoyeche/ 'I have finished eating.'
may be equally well analyzed as an incomplete clause, or as containing two elements /amar/ and khawa hoyeche/, or as containing two elements /amar khawa/ and /hoyeche/, or as containing three elements /amar/ and /khawa/ and/hoyeche/. This sort of syntatic ambiguity is no more serious than those which arise in English, for instance, in There was a man with a wooden leg named Smith.

3.4. The system of infinitive clauses. Clauses with infinitive predicates are usually non-final in the sentence.

3.4.1. Nominal, occurrent only with an auxiliary or a case other than nominative unless also impersonal. e.g. /amra hɔ́tat ašate = uni khub i birokto holen#2 'He got very annoyed by the fact that we had come suddenly.' /asa mattro/ 'as soon as come' /apnar ɔto kache aša ucit hɔyni/ ' It was not right for you to have come so close.'

3.4.2. Dueteronominal, occurrent only with an auxiliary or a case other than nominative, never also impersonal. e.g. /uni ekhane asbar pɔre = amra æksoŋge sinema gelam#/ 'After he came over here, we went out to the movies. (the cinema) together.' /ašba mattro/ 'As soon as come'

3.4.3. Durative. e.g. /uni ekhane aste = amra æksoŋge sinema gelam #/ 'As soon as he came over here, we went out to the movies together.'

3.4.4. Contingentive. e.g. /uni ekhane ele = amra æksoŋge sinema jabo #/ 'If and when he comes over here, we shall go out to the movies together.'

3.4.5 Conjunctive, never occurrent with any kind of subject. e.g. /šami mara gie = tini ɔḍḍ kahil #/ 'Ever since her husband died, she has been very miserable.' Note that /šami/ 'husband' is not the subject here, since the expanded form of the matched finitive clause would be /tã̆r šami mara gæchen/ 'Her husband has died.' with /tã̆r/ 'hers' as the impersonal subject. Additional examples: /ekhane eše= amra ækšoŋge sinema gelam #/ 'After our coming over here, we went out to the movies together.' /nilmoni= dirgho niššaš phele= uṭhe= baṛir bhetore gelen#/ 'Nilmani sighed deeply, got up and went inside the house.

Postpositions

1.0 Bound morphs, originated from nominals or verbals, that follow a nominal stem with or without case suffixes, are called postpositions. These may be categorized in various ways. The first one may be as follows: 1) Nominal PP, 2) Participial PP. E.g. moddhe, bhitore, soŋge, etc. for Nom.PP and hote, die, kore, etc. for Parti. PP. The second way of categorization is structural. In this way, we have two groups of PP's, viz. 1) Direct PP and 2) Oblique PP. PP's that occur directly after the Noun are called here Direct PP's, and those which occur after the Noun with case suffixes are called here Oblique PP's. E.g. *baṛi* *porjonto*, *tumi* *chaṛa* etc. for Dir. PP., and *tar* *theke*, *amake* *diye*, etc. for Obl. PP. Yet another categorization results from the differences between Sadhu and Chalit styles. E.g. *surešer* *šohit* for Sadhu, *šurešer* *šoŋge* for Chalit; *taha* *hoite* for Sadhu, *tar* *theke* for Chalit; etc.

2.0 Our list of PP's contains five participials, and the rest nominals. The participal

PP's are:

1. hoite (Sadhu) ~ hote (Chalit dialectal)
2. lagiya ~ lagi (Sadhu)
3. diya (Śadhu) ~ diye (Chalit)
4. koriya (Sadhu) ~ kore (Chalit)
5. chaṛa (Sadhu, Chalit)

3.1 Bengali PP's are grouped here into twenty functional units, each having four stylistic conditionings. The first column is shared equally by Chalit and Sadhu, the second is for Chalit only, the third for Sadhu only, while the fourth one includes some archaic usages to be found only in the poetic tradition.

PP compounding often replaces the regular postpositional phrases as follows:

buker moddhe ~ bokkhomoddhe
ɔrther nimitto ~ ɔrthonimitto
baṛir paše ~ baṛir parše ~ baṭiparše

etc.

3.2 PP units

No.	Chalit-Sadhu	Chalit	Sadhu	Poetic	Structure Conditioning	Meaning
1.a)	ɔbodhi ~porjonto	obti		ɔbodhi	Dir.	till, until ever since
2.a)		kache	nikɔṭe		Obl. (Gen.)	near
2.b)		kache	nikɔṭe			to
2.c)		kache	nikɔṭe			with
3.	šɔŋge ~šɔho		šohit	~šathe ~šɔne	Obl. (Gen.)	with, together with
4.a)	dara	die, kore	kortrik		a) dara= Obl. Gen.; =Dir. in Sadhu; kortrik= Dir. diye~diya= Obl. Obj. kore~ koriya= Obl. Loc.	by
b)		die, dia	diya, koriya		b) = Dir.	through
5.a)	jonno ~dorun	jonne	nimitto ~hetu	tore ~lagia/ lagi	Obl. Gen.; Dir. in Sadhu	for
b)				~karone		for the sake of
6.		dike	proti	pane uddešše	Obl. Gen.	towards, at

No.	Chalit-Sadhu	Chalit	Sadhu	Poetic	Structure Conditioning	Meaning
7.		theke kach theke	hoite	hote	theke = Obl. Gen. hoite= Dir. kach/ nikot theke/ hoite= Obl. Gen.	from (person)
8.a)	moddhe	majhe		majhare	Obl. Gen.	middle
b)	moddhe	majhe			Dir. in Compounds	among into
9.	bhitore	bhetore	ɔbbhontore		Obl. Gen. ɔbbhonɔre = Dir. in Compounds	inside, in
10.	piche ~pichone	pichu ~pachu	pošcat		Obl. Gen.	behind
11.	šamne		šommukke	šumukke	Obl. Gen. Dir. in PP. Comp.	in front of
12.		age	ɔgre		Obl. Gen. Dir. in PP. Comp.	before
13.	pɔre				Obl. Gen.	after

No.	Chalit-Sadhu	Chalit	Sadhu	Poetic	Structure Conditioning	Meaning
14.	upɔre	opore	urdhe	ˈpɔre ~ˈpɔr	Obl. Gen.	up, on above
15.	nice	nicute	nimne		Obl.Gen.	below
16.	tɔlae		tɔldeše	tɔle	Obl.Gen.	under
17.	paše		parše		Obl.Gen. Dir. in PP. Comp.	beside, by the side of
18.	bahire	baire			Obl.Gen.	out, outside
19.		ceye~ baṛa	ɔpekkha(y)	odhik	Obl.Gen. ɔpekkha= Dir. also	than, more than (?)
20.a)			~bina	bine~ bihɔne	Dir.	without except
b)		chaṛa				
c)				boi	=Dir.~ Obl.Obj.	without except
21.	mɔto	mɔton	šodrišo	prae~	Obl.Gen.; Dir. in PP. Comp.	like
				ṇae~heno šɔmọ		such
			-nibho		nibho= Dir. only	
22.	sɔmmondhe šɔmpɔrke		bisoe.e		Obl.Gen.~ Dir.	about

4.0 Illustrations

1. a) ɔbodhi "till, even"

aj ɔbodhi še ekɔtha bhole ni

(even today, he has not forgotten it)

~porjonto

še naṭoker šeš hɔwa porjonto šekhane chilo

(he was there till the end of the play)

b) ~ɔbodhi "ever since"

jɔnom ɔbodhi hɔm rup neharolũ

(Ever since I was born, I saw (his) beauty)

2. a) ~kache "near"

hugli kolkatar kache

(Hugli is near Calcutta)

~nikoṭe

ghaṭer nikoṭe ekṭa šošan chilo

(There was a burning-ground near the ghat)

b) ~kache "to"

babar kache ciṭhi likhbo

(I shall write a letter to my father)

c) ~kache "with"

boiṭa ramer kache ache

(The book is with Rama)

3. šoŋge "with"

tar šoŋge tar stri chilo

(his wife was with him)

šɔho

še striputrošɔho deše jabe

(he will go home with his family)

šohit

bhratar šohit ramer kono jog chilo no

(Ram had no connection with his brother) šathe

ɔbhagar šathe tar bibaher chilo ṭhikṭhak

(her marriage was arranged with this wretch)

šɔne

šɔbe jai sriramer šɔne

(Let's all go with Sri Rama)

4. a) ~dara "by"

amar dara e-kaj hɔbe na

(this work will not be done by me)

b) ~diye amake diye e-kaj hɔbe na

~diye ~ kore še churi diye am kaṭe/

churite kore am kaṭe

(he cuts mangoes with a knife)
(by)

~kortrik

Ram kortrik rabaṇ nihɔto hoilo

(Ravana was killed by Rama)

c) ~dia "through"

amar bõdhua an baṛi jae amari aŋina dia

(My beloved goes to visit another,
right through my courtyard)

5. a) jonno "for"

tomar jonno ki anbo?

(What shall I bring for you?)

~nimitto

tini dešer kollaner nimitto jibon utsɔrgo korilen

(He dedicated his life for the welfare of
his country)

~hetu

ki hetu bibad kɔro?

(What are you fighting for?)

~tɔre

šɔkoler tɔre sɔkole aura

(We are for all of us)

lagia

šukher lagia e ghɔr bã̆dhinu

(I built this house for happiness)

lagi

tɔbo lagi ja korechi

(what I have done for you)

b) karone "for the sake of"

pɔrer karone mɔroneo šukh

(There is happiness even in death, [if it be] for the sake of others)

c) dorun "on account of"

kapoṛer dorun ponero ṭaka

(Fifteen rupees for (on account of) clothes)

6. a) proti "towards"

tomar proti amar kono biddeš nei

(I feel no hatred towards you)

uddeše

b) dike "at", "to"

amar dike cao

(look at me)

~pane

cahie cãder pane tore hɔe mone

(I remember you when I look at the moon)

7. a) theke "from"

pæris šikago theke beš dure

(Paris is quite far from Chicago)

~hoite

kolikata hoite citore jaite tahar ɔnek din lagilo

(It took him many days to travel to Citor from Calcutta)

~kach theke

babar kach theke kono ciṭhi pai ni

(I have not received any letters from my father)

b) hote "from"

toma hote šob šukh, he pita

(All happiness [comes] from you, O Father)

8. a. moddhe

dɔler moddhe je meeṭi dãrie, še šita

(Šita is the girl standing in the middle of the group)

b. moddhe "among"

haŋšo moddhe bɔko jɔtha

(as a crane among swans)

~majhe

~majhare

9. bhitore ~ bhetore "in"

baṛir bhítore ke?

(Who is in the house?)

ɔbbhontɔre

kokkher ɔbbhontɔre ekṭi prodip johitechilo

(A lamp was burning in the room)

10. pichone "behind"

tomar pichone ke?

(Who is behind you?)

piche

janokir piche jae ajoddhar nari

(All the women of Ayodhya walked behind Janaki)

~pachu

~pošcat

11. šamne "in front of"

tader baṛir samne ækṭa pukur ache

(There is a pond in front of their house)

šɔmmukhe

pothik šɔmmukhe ekṭi mondir dekhilen

(The traveller saw a temple in front of him)

~šamukhe

~šumukhe

12. age "before"

šikago ašar age tomra kothae thakte

(Where did you use to live before coming to Chicago)

ɔgre

13. pɔre "after"

tar pɔre ki holo

(What happened after that?)

~pɔr

diner pɔr din amra ɔpekkha korlam

(We waited day after day)

14. a) upɔre "on"

boiṭa ṭebiler upɔre chilo

(The book was on the table)

~opore

~'pɔre

meher pɔre megh jomeche

(Clouds were heaped on clouds)

b) urdhe "up above"

urdhe šunil gɔgon

(the blue sky up above)

15. nice "below"

~nicute

~nimne

nimne šæmol upottoka

(a green valley below)

16. toldeše "under"

~tolay

še gachṭar tolay bošlo

(He sat under the tree)

~tole

bošo ei torutole

(Please sit under this tree)

17. paše "beside", "by the side of"

še tomar paše bošbe

(He will sit beside you)

parše

šita ramer parše upobešon korilen

(Sita sat beside Rama)

18. bahire "out, outside"

jašne ghɔrer bahire

(Don't go out)

19. ceye "than"

šitar ceye lɔta boṛo

(Lata is older than Sita)

ɔpekkha

rabon ɔpekkha ram šɔktiman

(Ram is stronger than Ravana)

20. a) bina "without"

bina ṭikiṭe kæmon kore ḍhukbo?

(How shall we enter without tickets?)

~bine

hori bine koise goŋaybo iho din ratia

(How will you pass these days and nights
without Hari?)

~bihone

šitar bihone ram pagol hoila

(Ram became mad [with grief] without Sita)

b) chaṛa "except"

ṭunu chaṛa ar šobai khelbe

(Everybody, except Ṭunu will play)

bætito

daršonik bætito keho ei kotha bolibe na

(None but a philosopher will say this)

~boi

radha kṛṣṇa boi ar kahakeo bhal bašiten na

(Radha loved none but kṛṣṇa)
(except)

21. a) moto "like", "as"

tar cokh tarar moto ujjɔl

(Her eyes are bright as stars)

~mɔton

nita ki dekhte tar boner moton?

(Does Nita look like her sister?)

~heno

kanu heno gunonidhi kare die jabo

(To whom shall I leave a treasure-house like kanu?)

~šodṛišo

tini bɔle bhimer sodriśo

(He is like Bhima in strength)

~ -nibho

rajkonna phenonibho šójjae nidra jaitechilen

(The princess was sleeping on a bed (white) as foam)

~næy

bikrome tini šiŋher næy

(He is mightly like a lion)

~pray

konoklɔtar pray jɔnok-duhita

(The daughter of Janaka is like a kanakalata)

~šɔmo

nišanter šukho-šɔpno-šɔmo

(like happy dreams at the end of the night)

22. šommondhe "about"

tar šommondhe ami kichu jani na

(I do not know anything about him)

~šɔmpɔrke

ami e sɔmpɔrke kichu bolte cai

(I want to say something about that)

~bišoye

e bišoye apnar mɔtamɔt ki?

(What is your opinion about this?)

II. 4.21

~prošoŋge

e prošoŋge take kichu bola britha

(It is useless to tell him anything about this)

1. Enclitics

These fall into the following divisions:

1) Specifier
2) Qualifier
3) Classifier
4) Quantifier

Specifier: -ṭi~ṭa~-ṭe

-ṭe with tin, car
-ṭi ~ -ṭa stylistic

Qualifier:

(1) khana ~ khani ~ khan stylistic;
khan- as prefix

(2) gacha ~ gachi ~ gach stylistic;
gach- as prefix

Classifier:

jɔn ~ jɔna stylistic

Quantifier:

(1) -ek after numerals to indicate a non-specific quantity

(2) -ṭuku after nouns to indicate a non-specific measure

(3) -ṭek after measure words to indicate a non-specific amount

Positionally these enclitics occur as follows:

-ṭi as suffix, added to nouns, and to numerals that qualify a noun, e.g.

manuš-ṭi, ek-ṭi manuš

never æk manuš-ṭi

khana ~ khani ~ khan as suffix, added to nouns and to numerals that qualify a noun, e.g.

ciṭhi-khani, æk-khani ciṭhi

khana ~ khani ~ khan takes -ṭi with noun, but never with numerals, e.g.

ciṭhi-khan-ṭi, but never

tin-khan-ṭi ciṭhi

gacha ~ gachi ~ gach behaves as khana ~ khani ~ khan; also it occurs before khana ~ khani ~ khan only in a noun string, e.g.

	laṭhi-gacha, *lathi-gacha-ṭi*, *æk-gacha* *laṭhi*, and *laṭhi-gacha-khani*; but never *æk-gacha-khana* *laṭhi*
	jon ~ jona as suffix to numerals that qualífy human items, e.g. *æk-jon* *lok*, etc.
-ek	as suffix to numerals that occur after the qualifying noun, e.g. *din-car-ek*, *mas-car-ek*, etc.
-ṭuku	as suffix to nouns only, e.g. *mach-ṭuku*, etc.
-ṭek	as suffix to measure nouns only. Certain dialects have ṭak instead of ṭek, e.g. *poya-ṭek*, *ser-ṭek*, etc.
~ khan-ek	as suffix to measure nouns only, not to numerals, e.g. *šer-khanek*, *mon-khanek*

2) String Enclitics

These are -i, exclusive or emphatic and -o, inclusive. These occur as suffixes to any string, viz. noun, verb, postposition, etc., e.g.

še-i jabe	he (emphatic) will go
še jabei	he will go (emphatic)
še oi dike-i jabe	he will go in that direction only
še-o jabe	he too will go
še jabe-o	he will go too
še oi dike-o jabe	he will go in that direction too

Intonational Particles

These fall into two divisions, viz.
1) Optional, 2) Obligatory

Optional is ki, it can be dropped retaining the question (rising) intonation in the sentence string

All other particles are obligatory.
These are

na
to
je
ba
kina
naki

Interjectionals

These are as follows:

Assertive
- bɔṭe
- accha
- hɛ̃
- etc.

Negative
- na

Vocative
- ei
- oi
- ore
- ohe,etc.
- re,he in poetic Bengali

Connectives

Co-ordinate:

1) Cumulative
   - ebon
   - ar
   - o
2) Alternative
   - ba
   - ɔthoba
   - kimba/kiŋba
   - notuba
   - nahɔy
   - nohile
   - etc.
3) Adversative
   - kintu
   - pɔrontu
   - bɔroŋ
   - bɔronco
   - ɔthoco
   - etc.

4) Conclusive

śutoraŋ

otoyeb

etc.

Surordinate

1) relative

je ..... se	(animate)
ja ..... ta	(non-animate; also in oblique uses with animate, e.g. jake...take, jar...tar,etc.)

2) Conditional

jodi ..... tahole

3) Appositional

je

ki

Numerals

1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinals up to 103 are:

ek duy tin car pãc chɔy šat aṭ nɔy dɔš
egaro baro tero coddo ponero šolo šɔtero aṭhero
unіš kuṛi~biš
ekuš baiš teiš cobbiš põciš chabbiš šataš aṭaš
untriš triš~tiriš
ektriš botriš tetriš cow̃triš põytriš chotriš šãytriš
aṭriš unocolliš colliš
ekcolliš bialliš tetalliš cualliš pɔ̃ytalliš checholliš
šaccoliš aṭcolliš unopɔncaš pɔncaš
ekanno bahanno teppanno cuanno pɔncanno chappanno~
cheanno šatanno aṭhanno unošaṭ šaṭ
ekšoṭṭi bašoṭṭi tešoṭṭi cow̃šoṭṭi pɔ̃yšoṭṭi chešoṭṭi
šatšoṭṭi aṭšoṭṭi unošottor šottor
ekattor bahattor teattor cuattor pɔ̃cattor cheattor
šatattor aṭhattor unoaši~unaši aši
ekaši biraši~bireši tiraši curaši pɔ̃caši chiaši~
cheaši šataši ɔšṭoaši unonobboy nobboy~nobbuy
ekanobboy biranobboy tiranobboy curanobboy pɔ̃canobboy
cheanobboy šatanobboy aṭhanobboy niranobboy~
nirenobboy ekšo

ekšo ek   ekšo duy̌   ekšo tin ....

Still higher numerals are: /hajar/ 'thousand' /lakh/ 'hundred thousand' /koṭi/ 'ten million'.

Many of the higher numerals have vague shapes in the sense of occurring in several free variants without falling into more general patterns, e.g. /niranobboy~nirenobboy~nirenobbuy/ 'ninety nine' /chappanno~cheanno~chianno/ 'fifty six' /birasi~biresi/ 'eighty two'.

Special cardinal numerals are: /deṛ/ 'one and a half' /aṛaẏ/ 'two and a half' /adh~adhek~ɔddhek/ 'half' /šiki/ 'quarter'.

2.0 The ordinals come in various lexical sets.

2.1 The popular series is built by the addition of the genitive case to the ordinal: /eker duer tiner carer pãcer chɔyer.../

2.2 Also popular are series formed by addition of a measure: /eknɔmbor dunɔmbor tinnɔmbor cannɔmbor pãcnɔmbor .../ Cardinal plus šɔŋkhɔk, instead of nɔmbor, is also common, e.g.

ɛkšɔŋkhɔk, duỹšɔŋkhɔk, etc.

'Number 1, Number 2, Number 3 ...' /egbar dubar tinbar carbar pãjbar .../ 'Turn 1, Turn 2, Turn 3 ...'

2.3 Another set of ordinals are formed on these models:

/ek diner din/ '(on) the first day' /tin barer bar/ '(for) the third turn /šad bhager bhag/ 'the seventh portion'.

2.4 For days of the month only:

/pɔyla došra tešra cow̃ṭha pãcoỹ chɔoỹ šatoy ... dɔšoy egaroỹ ... uniše biše ekuše ... ektriše/.

2.5 The ordinals of Sanskrit are also quite common:

/prothom~pothom ditio tritio~titio coturtho~cotuttho poncom sostho soptom ostom nobom dosom ekados dados troydos coturdos poncodos soros soptodos ostados unobinso binso ekobinso ... trinso ... cottarinso ... poncas~poncasottomo ... sostitomo ... soptotitomo ... osititomo ... nobotitomo ... sototomo ... sohosrotomo ... lokkhotomo ... kotitomo/

3.0 Fractions are formed on the following models:

3.1 Without a measure, e.g. /eker tin/ 'third of one' /pãcer šat/ 'seventh of five' /šat purno duer pãc/ 'seven and two fifths'

3.2 With a measure, e.g. /tin bhager ek/ 'one of three portions' /šat bhager pãc/ 'five of seven portions' /šat purno pãc bhager duy/ 'seven of two fifths'

3.3 With a Sanskrit ordinal, e.g. /ek tritiaŋšo/ 'one third part' /pãc šɔptaŋšo/ 'five seventh parts' /šat purno duẙ pɔncomaŋšo/ 'seven and two fifths parts'

4.0 Multiples are formed on the following models:

4.1 Without a measure, e.g. /tinšate ekus/ 'seven by three is twenty-one' /car pãce kuri/ 'four by five is twenty'

4.2 With a measure, e.g. /tin duŷ gune chɔy/ 'three in the second quality is six'

5.0 There is a set of vague cardinals homonymous with the exact ones, e.g. /duy/ 'a very few' /car/ 'a few' /šat/ 'many' /dɔš/ 'many, most' /baro/ 'all' /tero/ 'too many' /šɔtero/ 'far too many' /pɔncaš/ 'very many' /ek šo/ 'uncountably many' /hajar/ 'uncountably many' /lakh/ 'uncountably many'

The vagueness increases if these cardinals come in pairs of almost any combination. Certain pairs are in more use than others, e.g. duŷek, carpãc, barošɔtero, šatsɔtero, etc.

For examples of usage: /ar duto cɔp dik/ 'allow him to give (you) a few more croquettes'. /dɔš jone manno kɔre/ 'most people listen to him respectfully'. /o ghoṛir baroṭa beje geche/ 'that watch has struck all the hours it would have ever struck. (It is broken).' /šat šɔtero kɔto ki kɔtha bole gelen/ 'She went on saying lots and lots of things'.

Negation

Both from the structure and semantic points of view, Bengali negation can be classed into four categories.

a) Negation as a sentence.

b) Negative Nouns/ substantives

c) Negative verbs/verb phrases

  (1) /n-/ plus personal marker in presnnt tense

  (2) /n-/ plus aspect marker

d) Negative Interrogative--the 'tag' type--/naki/ vs. /kina/

1. A question in Bengali can be expressed in either an affirmative or a negative way. In answer to an affirmative question / tumi ki kal boi poṛbe/ 'Will you read books to-morrow?' the particle is na 'no' for a negative statement. The verb in question may /na, ami boi poṛbo na/ 'no I shall not read books' or may not be repeated /na/ 'no'. In the later case, na is equal to the former on the communicative level. But in answer to a negative question, /tumi kal boi poṛbe na ki?/ ' Will you not read books tomorrow?/,the verb in question is most often repeated / na, ami boi poṛbo na/.

There is the possibility of a disjunctive question calling for a choice in the answer. In Bengali it takes the form of putting th choices side by side not in simple paratyxis, but with the negative particle /na/ between two finite complete verbs.

Thus the question: 'Will you eat rice or bread?' can be expressed in Bengali as:

a) /tumi bhat khabe na ruti khabe/

b) /bhat na ruti khabe/

c) /bhat ruti ki khabe/or / bhat ki ruti khabe/; these are good Bengali but are used in somewhat different context; the question wants here the positive denial of one -- 'rice' or 'bread'.

2. The morpheme which negates the meaning of a noun (or substantive) is the prefix {ɔn-} which has three allomorphs -- {ɔn-} {ɔ-} {a-} . {ɔn-} occurs before a noun beginning with a vowel, {ɔ-} beginning with a consonant and {a-} overlaps with {ɔ-} . While the former two are used with tatsama words, {a-} always occurs with tadbhava words.

Examples:

ɔn-

ɔnokkhor	"illiterate"
ɔnoton (> ɔnaton)	"want, insufficient"
ɔnodhik	"not much, in between ---"
ɔnonto	"eternal,boundless, infinite"
ɔnontor	"next"
ɔnobhiggō	"inexperienced"
ɔnarjo	"non-Aryan, ungentle, low mean"
ɔniddra	"insomnia"
ɔnukto	"understood, not spoken"
ɔniscit	"uncertain"

ɔ-

ɔkottho	"not to be spoken, vulgar"
ɔkal	"not proper time"
ɔkklanto	"tireless"
ɔkhɔndo	"undivided"
ɔgouno	"not secondary, primary"
ɔcinto	"which cannot be conceived"
ɔjirno	"indigestion"
ɔggæn	"unconsciousness"
ɔtɔl	"fixed, not moved, firm"

a-

adækhla	"one who has not seen (a thing)"-- perjorative
akata	"uncut"
akal	"bad time, untime, unproper time"
akkra ɔkreyɔ	"not to be purchased, dear, costly"
aghat (a)	"bathing place, unfit to use"
acala	"unsifted"
adhaka	"uncovered, open"
aluni	"not properly salted (food)"

3. Other negative morphemes include:

/ha-/ The prefixed morph /ha-/ denotes 'destruction' or 'without'. It is an abessive particle.

/haput/	"one whose son is dead, without--son"
/hagho(ɔ)re/	"one whose house is destroyed, without-- house"
/habhate/	"one who has no rice (to eat), without-rice; perjorative"

/-hin/ 'low', /-śunno/ 'zero, nil';

Like the prefixed /ha-/, the suffixal /-hin/ and /-śunno/ also are abessive particles. These unlike /ha-/ occur generally with tatsama words.

/buddhihin/	"stupid, dull"
/śokitśunno/	"without strength, weak"

/nih-/ 'outside' 'not' is a negative prefix found mostly in sādhu bhāsa. There is automatic alternation between /nir-/ and /niś-/ as found in Sanskrit. It is also found in tadbhava or derived words.

tatsama

/nirdhon/	"not-wealthy,poor"
/niśkorun/	"not kind, unkind"
/niścɔl/	"not moving, stopped, still"
/niropɔradh/	"not sinful, innocent"
/nirabɔron/	"not covered, uncovered,naked"

tatbhava words

/nikhũt/	"not defect"
/nikhõj/	"not traced, untraced"
/nilaj/	"not shamed, unashamed"
/nischipi/	"not corked, unscrewed, uncorked (bottle)"

/gɔr-,na-,be-/ These Perso-Arabic prefixed morphs also indicate negation, but are mostly restricted to loan words (and hybrids).

/gɔr-/

/gɔrmil/	"incongruent"
/gɔrhajir/	"unpresent, absent"

/na-/

/na-hɔk/	"untrue"

/natok namisti/	"not sour not sweet" (hybrid)

/be-/

/be-rośik/	"unhumourous" (hybrid)
/benami/	"incognito, unnamed"
/behed/	"stupid, crazy" (hybrid)
/bemokka/	"inopportune"

negative pronoun:

/keu na/ 'nobody, /kichu na/ 'nothing', are pronouns plus the negative particle /na/.

4. Negative verbs

The negative of finite indicative forms is expressed by

a) /n-/ plus the person marker in the present tense

b) adding /na/ to the positive form of "to be" only. Generally except in present or past perfect.

c) the imperative negative: /na/

d) the present or the perfect tense form their negative by adding /ni/ to the corresponding form of present simple

4.1 Examples

a) the forms of the present indicative of the verb "to be" in the negative are as follows:

I sg. pl. /noi/

II sg. pl. /nɔo/ (inferior) nos, (honor.) /nɔn/

III sg. pl. /nɔy/ " /nɔn/

b)

/madhobi aśche na/	Madhabi is not coming.
/śe śikagote thakbe na/	He will not remain in Chicago.
/ami mɔd khai na/	I do not drink wine.
/biddaśagor baŋali chilen na/	Vidyasagar was not a Bengali.
/condidaśer bou chilo na/.	Chandidas had no wife.

A present simple followed by /na/ signifies a negative present. But with a following /ni/ a present simple represents the negative of the past simple, the present perfect or the past perfect.

/śe elo kintu ar keu aśe ni/	He came but no one else did.
/amra eśechi kintu tara aśe ni/	We have come, but they haven't.
/tara giyechilo, tomrao jaoni kæno/	They went, why didn't you go too?

c) In Bengali there are two kinds of imperatives -- (explicit in II persom mainly)-- structurally and semantically different: present and future.

Pr. imp. II p. /kɔro/ 'do'. /khao/ 'eat', /jao/ 'go'

Fut. imp. II p. /koro/ 'do', /kheyo/ 'eat', /jeyo/'go'

The negative of the imperative is formed by adding na to the future imperative. It expresses prohibition referring either to the present or to the future.

/koro na/	'don't do'
/kheyo na/	'don't eat'
/oke mero na/	'don't hit him'

A /na/ added to the present imperative loses its negative sense and expresses not a prohibition but an emphatic wish (rarely a command) or cordiality. An example of a similar kind can be drawn from English.

/amay bari rekhe aśun na/	Escort me to the house; please, won't you?
/dekhoi na/	Look, won't you?
/amake bɔlo na/	Do tell me.
/śe age aśuk na/	Do wait until he comes.
/ogo, śono na/	My dear, do listen.

d) The negative of the present perfect is always expressed by the corresponding form of the present simple followed by ni. A present perfect form can never be followed by na.

/ami bhat khai ni/	I have not eaten rice.

/madhobi aśe ni kæno/	Why hasn't Madhabi come?
/śe ækhono cul bãdhe ni/	She has not combed her hair yet.
/Ram mara jay ni/	Ram has not died.

na is never used after a past perfect. The negative expressed by the corresponding person of the present with ni attached.

/ram lɔŋkay gechlo, rabon jayni/	It was Ram who went to Langka, not Ravan.
/jɔkhon śita kẽdechilo, sɔroma śantona dæy ni/	When Sita wept, Sarama did not console her.

Note the difference:

ami kori na = I generally am not in the habit of doing (present tense)

ami kori ni = I did not do (action completed, past tense)

ami deklum na = I could see, but did not wish to see, or tried to see but it did not come into sight.

ami dekhi ni = I have not seen, i.e. the seeing did not happen.

4.2 The English sentence "He is not good", can be rendered into Bengali as either

/śɛ bhalo nɔy/ or /śɛ balo nei/

/śɛ bhalo nɔy/ = (at present) he is not being good (speaking of mind)

/śɛ bhalo nei/ = He is not in a state of goodness (speaking of health)

I am not:

ami nei -------> /amar thaka (ach-) noy/

ami noi ______> /ami achi na/

I am Kennedy has only one translation:

/ami kenedi noi/

/ami kenedi nei/ is a nonsense form.

5. Negative Auxiliary

In sum, there is a clear complimentary distribution of the negative morphemes /nai, nei,na,ni/. The paradigm of the 1st persom singular with the verb /kor-/ 'do' is =

/ami	kori na/ -	simple present
	/korchi na/-	pres. progressive
	/korlum na/-	simple past
	/kørtum na/ -	past habitual
	/korchilum - na/	past progressive'
	/korbo na/-	simple future
	/korte thakbo na/ -	future progressive
But	ami kori ni -	either persent perfect or past perfect
----->	ami korechi na/korechilum na	

It has been noted that the negative form of the verb "to exist" has peculiar forms in present tense but takes the suffixed morph (auxiliary) na in other tenses.

Present ami noi -----> ami achi na, but
Simple Past ami chilum na ----- -> ----->

6. The Negative Interrogative: the combination "na" and "ki" na'not',ki'what'. Bengali orthography does not distinguish between /ki/, /na/ and /kina/; both are written as the latter. But there is a difference between the two expressions:

a)

/tumi jabe ki na/	Will you go or not?
/śe kãdche ki na/	Is she crying or not?

b) In /kina/ there is an open juncture between the two morphemes.

/chagole kina khay/	A goat eats anything (i.e. "what-not")
/pagole kina bole/	A madman says anything.

c) There is another use of /kina/, 'as if';

/ram kina calak chele/	Ram 'as if' a clever boy.

/kina/ here behaves like a one morpheme with two components: Examples of the three usages:

/tumi kina bolle/	'you as if said'
/tumi kina bolle/	'you what-not said' i.e. you said everything, without discrimination
/tumi bolle ki na/	whether you said or not.

dekhte pabe ækhon phora kaṭte jao ki na? ei sob gur ache ki na? jani na.

tumi bole kina sojjo korle

6.2 Ther is also the opposite combination of na 'not' and ki 'what'

/tumi jabe na ki/	Won't you go?
/tumi naki jabe/	You will go, won't you?

there is a sense of doubt or surprise on the part of the speaker.

/ram bhalo chele na ki/	Isn't Ram a good boy?
/ram naki bhalo chele/	Ram is a good boy, isn't he?

naki is also used when the speaker is uncertain about any fact:

/śe naki mara aæche/	He is dead, isn't that so?
/tumi naki kobi/	You are a poet, aren't you?
/pagol naki/	You are mad, aren't you?
/tai naki/	Isn't that so?

There is another idiomatic use of naki, where neither the sense of 'not' nor that of 'what' is active. In the following examples, naki has the sense of 'for example':--

/bidhobara ɔnek kichu khan na,jæmon naki, mach, naŋśo, dim ittædi/

Widows do not eat many things, for example, fish, meat, eggs, etc."

7. Other uses of the particle /na/:

7.1 The particle /na/ after a quantitative adjective and before the noun expresses excessiveness.

/kɔto na jontro na śoyechi/	How much pain I have suffered. (i.e., very much)

7.2 /na/ also is idiomatically used as an answer to a self-asked question, as an introductory particle:

/boli khabe? na bhate amar ɔruci.

Will you eat? Well, I don't like rice.

/ghɔre ke? na ami to kɔla khai ni/

Who is in the room? Well, I have not eaten the banana (i.e. I am not to be blamed.).

7.3 /na/ after an adverb denotes 'quick action' or 'promptness'.

/jei na śoyechi/	"as soon as I lay down"
/jɔkhoni na bolechi/	"as soon as I said"
/mar diyechi, tɔbei na korecho/	I beat you, (as a result of which) you did (it).

7.4 /na/ before two substantives denotes negative alternatives.

/na prithibi na śurjo/	"neither the earth, not the sun"
/na ami na tumi/	"neither I, nor you"
/na ṭɔk na miśti/	"neither sour, nor sweet"

This na is used in the language of poetry, or on the emotive level.

7.5 Negative adverbs:

/na/'not', /ækdom na/ 'not a bit', /kɔkhonoi na/ 'never', /nato/ 'not-that', /nalɔte/ 'not-so', /moṭei na/ 'not in the least', /adou (adouye, adobe, adope) na/, 'not at all', /kothao na/ 'no where', /kɔkhono na, kɔkkhono na/ 'never, not at any time'.

7.6 The juxtaposition of the negative na express 'much/manyness'. The word nanan can be analysed as na + na + an anya 'other'="many other"

/nanan deśe nanan bhaśa, bina śɔdeśi bhaśa pure ki aśa/

"many other (i.e. different) languages in different lands, is the hope satisfied without one's own language"

8. The position of the negative particle /na/ negative verb n-/ plus affixes in the sentence.

8.1 As a general rule, the negative element is placed at the end of sentence after the verb.

/ami rakkhoś noi/	I am not a demon
/tumi jabe na/	You will not go.
/bɔlo na/	Please do say.
/tini amar monib nɔn/	He is not my master.

/śudhu śobha nɔy, śoŋgit/	Not only grandeur, but (also) music.
/taliboner ɔnto nei/	There is no end of palm trees.
/tar jibone rɔŋ-rekha nei/	He has no colour and lines in his life (i.e. it is uneventful.)

8.2 /na/ preceding the finite verb in a sentence.

a) In a complex sentence expressing condition, possibility or doubt, the negative particle always comes before the verb in the dependent clause and also in the principal clause, if the finite verb there is not in the indicative mood.

/śe na jay na jabe/	He may not go, if he does not like.

In conditional clauses introduced by jodi 'if', and in relative clauses with a conditional force the na is placed before the verb and not after it.

/śe jodi na aśe ta hole kichu pabe na/	You won't get anything if he does not come.
/kaj jara na korbe tader kichu hɔbe na/	Those who won't work, won't have anything.

b) /na/ is placed before an infinite form.

/tumi na hole kajta hoto na = noile	Had it not been you, the work would not have been done.

/nibedita noile nɔndolalder jaoa hoto na ɔjontay/	Had it not been Nivedita, the Nandolas would not have gone to Ajanta.
/tini na ele amra ki korbo/	What shall we do if he does not come?
/śe na aśte pare/	He may not come.
/śe aste pare na/	He can't come.
/ami apnake age na bole kichu korbo na/	I am not going to do anything without tell-you first.
/tomar na khabar karon ki/	What is the reason of your not eating?

c) The negative precedes the verb when the sense is that of a precative mood; i.e. in third person present imperative negative.

/æmon na hok/	May it not be so!
/bhɔgoban na korun/	God forbid!
/śe din kokhono na aśuk/	May that day never come!

d) In clauses of purpose introduced by jæno 'as if', jate'so that', the negative precedes the verb; also the negative of the first or third person of the present imperative may be expressed by prefixing jæno na to the corresponding form of the present simple.

/śe jæno e kaj na kɔre ami taki kɔto ɔnurodh korechilum/	How I begged him not to do this.
/tar kɔśto jate na hɔy æmon bɔndo bɔśto korte hɔbe	Arrangements must be made to prevent his being put to inconvenience.

/æmon kaj ami jæno kɔkhono na kori/	May I never do such a thing.
/śe jæno na mɔre/	Don't let him die.

e) The negative particle nai is restricted to the level of śadhu bhaśa, but in combination with ba 'or', it also occurs in the colloquial (LCB/SCB) level when it emphatically expresses a 'desire'; it precedes the verb.

/naiba holo pare jaoa/	What if your going over to the other shore does not happen?
/guru, naiba aj gælo iśkule/	What if Guru's going to school does not happen today?
/taray taray naiba amay amay khũjle/	What if you do not look for me in the stars?

[Note naiba always takes the conditionals holo, gælo, khũjle in the above examples].

8.3 The two nuclei of a compound verb are a close lexico-grammatical unit. But the negative particle na can appear in between them for the sake of emphasis.

/ekɔtha bhebe na phælo/	Let you not think (completely) about this matter.
/khete na paroto nile kæno/	If you can't eat, why did you take it?

8.4 When na means "without", it always precedes the /e-/ infinitive:

/aj na kheye jabo na/	Today, I won't go without sleeping.

/na ghumie kothay jabe/	Where will you go without sleeping?

8.5 The combination /na hɔy/ means "it it understood, it is indicated, it is known."

/õr lokkhi na hɔy cheṛe gæche/	His fortune, it seems, has left him.
/tumi na hɔy aj baṛi jao/	You, perhaps, go home today.
/kaj na hɔy nai korbo/	What happens if I won't do the job?

8.6 /nɔyto/ indicates 'if-not'; it is a conditional morph and is placed in the beginning of a sentence.

/nɔyto ar karo kono kaje lagtum na/	If not, I would not have been of service to anybody.

9. The behaviour of the negative particle /na/ between two reduplicated words:

a) between two indefinite pronouns and adverbs:

keu	"somebody", na "not"
keu na	"nobody; but
keu na keu	"sombbody (emphatic), at least one"
keu na keu jabe	Somebody will go.
kichu	"something"
kichu na kichu hɔbe	"something or other will be"
kothao	"somewhere"
kothao na kothao śurechi	I have heard it somewhere or other.

b)

bolte "to say", na "not"

bolte na bolte "as soon as (it was) said"

khete na khete "as soon as (it was) eaten"

Formative Affixes in Bengali:

Prefixes

Prefixes that are used in Bengali are of two kinds: (1) source-based prefixes, and (2) structure-based prefixes. The source-based prefixes are again of two varieties; viz. (1 a) Sanskrit prefixes, and (1 b) Perso-Arabic prefixes. While most PA prefixes occur before roots of any sources, only three PA prefixes are truly source-sensitive. These are dɔr(2)-, nim- and bɔ-. Of the Sanskrit stock, some prefixes occur with non-Sanskritic items. As the function of such prefixes are, in most cases, of a different order, they are treated here as structure-based Bengali affixes (e.g. šu-, ku-, šɔ-, etc).

First, the structure-based prefixes are illustrated. Then the source-based items are taken up. However, the order of discussion of the prefixes current in Bengali is as follows:

a) Affixes that optionally change their positions

b) Mono-operational prefixes

c) Multi-operational prefixes

d) Listed items

e) Sanskrit prefixes I

f) Sanskrit prefixes II

g) Perso-Arabic prefixes

Affixes that optionally change their positions:

There are two affixes that optionally change their positions either before or after the roots. These are bina and bhɔr which are discussed and illustrated below:

bina 'without'

bina has two extra optional allomorphs in Ch. but only as prefix, viz. bine, bini (vowel harmony). It may be mentioned here that as suffix the allomorph bine is found to be used only in dialectal Bengali, but never bini.

bhɔr 'throughout, during the whole period of, in every part'

it has two allomorphs, viz. bhɔr as prefix and -bhor as suffix. This bhɔr (1) must not be confused with the pure prefixal bhɔr (2), a resultant form of bhɔra, which is illustrated below in this chapter.

There are two things in common between these two affixes, i.e. 1) they have each two alternant forms for their prefixal and suffixal uses, at least in Chalit form; and 2) the construction with each of these two items as prefix forms a nominal stem, while that with each of them as suffix forms an adverbial stem; in other words, the prefixal construction does take case-endings, while the suffixal construction does not take any. However, there are some distinguished features between these two items. *Bina* does change freely its position either as prefix or as suffix, while *bhɔr* does have some restrictions in its uses.

E.g.

bine-pɔyša ~ *pɔyša-bina*
'without money'

bhɔr-dunia ~ *duniya-bhor*
'throughout the world'

but **bhɔr-cakri* ~ *cakri-bhor*
'throughout the service'

Bhɔr (~ -*bhor*) is used only as a suffix in the third example. So it might be presumed here that these two items, viz. *bina* and *bhɔr*, are basically suffixal in character which occur as prefixes only to make the derived constructions to function as pure nominal stems. However, *bina* is traditionally considered as a postposition in Bengali. There are case-postpositions and pure postpositions and these are numerous in the language. These so-called bound nominals occur only after the inflected free nominals, and never act otherwise. But bina and bhɔr behave differently and consequently belong to a different morpheme class.

As bina and bhɔr as suffix do not form inflected stems, they cannot be treated as derivative suffixes. They have prefix allomorphs that form pure nominal stems. For the present, they are included in the list of prefixes.

bina 'without'

bina-, *bine*-, *bini*- as prefix

bina-kagoj	'without paper'
bine-kagoj	
kagoj-bina	
bina-pɔyša	'without money'
bine-pɔyša	
pɔyša-bina	
bina-bagan	'without garden'
bine-bagan	
bagan-bina	

(*bina* is a structure-based mono-operational prefix) *bhɔr-* 'throughout'

bhɔr- as prefix, -*bhor* as suffix

bhɔr-j̣oubon, *j̣oubon-bhor*
'throughout the period of youth';

bhɔr-din, *din-bhor*
'thoughout the day';

bhɔr-dunia, *dunia-bhor*
'thoughout the world';

bhɔr-dupur, *dupur-bhor*
'thoughout the noon';

bhɔr-bikel, *bikel-bhor*
'throughout the afternoon';

bhɔr-šɔŋšar, *šɔŋšar-bhor*
'throughout the house or world';

bhɔr-šaisɔb, *šoisɔb*
'throughout the childhood'

It should be noted here that *bhɔr*- occurs with those roots that might be called time and space items. *Bhɔr* as an affix belongs to the category of structure-based multi-operational affixes, but as a prefix its use is restricted and consequently it is considered as a list-sensitive item. Some examples are given below where bhɔr- occurs as a prefix.

koišor-bhor

'throughout the period of one's post-babyhood or childhood';

cakri-bhor

'throughout the period of a service';

chelebela-bhor

'thoughout the period of one's boyhood';

jibon-bhor

'throughout the life';

šišukal-bhor

'throughout the period of one's babyhood'

etc.

Prefixes

Mono-operational

ɔ- 'negation'

Though this is a mono-operational prefix, occuring before both Nom. and Verbal roots, the use of it can be found in the following classes of constructions:

1) before verbal roots:

ɔ-jana 'unknown'

<--- *ɔ-* + *jana* 'known' ($\sqrt{\text{jan}}$);

ɔ-dɛkha 'unseen'

<--- *ɔ-* + *dɛkha* 'seen' ($\sqrt{\text{dekh}}$);

ɔ-pɔṛa 'unread'

<--- *ɔ-* + *pɔṛa* 'read' ($\sqrt{\text{pɔṛ}}$);

ɔ-bujh 'unreasonable'

<--- *ɔ-* + *bujh* 'to understand, to realise' ($\sqrt{\text{bujh}}$)

2) before Nominal roots listed below:

ɔ-ghɔr 'family unfit for matrimonial connection'

<--- *ɔ-* + *ghɔr* 'house, family';

3) before Agentive nouns:

ɔ-hišabi, *ɔ-hišebi* 'extravagant'

<--- *ɔ-* + *hisab*, *hiseb* 'account'

a- 'negation'

before verbal roots

a-kaca 'unwashed'

<--- *a*- + *kaca* 'washed' (√*kac*-);

a-kā̃ṛa 'unhusked'

<--- *a*- + *kā̃ṛa* 'husked' (√*kā̃ṛ*);

a-cɔša 'uncultivated'

<--- *a*- + *cɔša* 'cultivated' (√*cɔš*);

a-cala 'unsifted'

<--- *a*- + *cala* 'sifted' (√*cal*);

a-coṭ 'untilled'

<--- *a*- + *coṭ* 'to dig' (√*coṭ*);

a-dhowa 'unwashed'

<--- *a*- + *dhowa* 'washed' (√*dho*)

na- 'negative'

nachana 'unkneaded'

<--- *na-* + *chana* 'kneaded' ($\sqrt{\text{chan}}$);

najana 'unknown'

<--- *na-* + *jana* 'known' ($\sqrt{\text{jan}}$);

naṭana 'unpulled, undrawn'

<--- *na-* + *ṭana* 'pulled, drawn' ($\sqrt{\text{ṭan}}$);

napawa 'unpossessed'

<--- *na-* + *pawa* 'possessed' ($\sqrt{\text{pa}}$);

nabɔwa 'stagnant, unmoved, unflowing'

<--- *na-* + *bɔwa* 'flowing, moving in the
manner of a liquid' ($\sqrt{\text{bɔ}}$);

nabhɔra 'unfilled'

<--- *na-* + *bhɔra* 'filled' ($\sqrt{\text{bhɔr}}$);

nahɔwa 'not in proper shape'

<--- *na-* + *hɔwa* 'to be, to become, to
happen, to occur' ($\sqrt{\text{hɔ}}$)

ku- 'derogation, bad'

ku-din 'bad time'

<--- ku- + din 'day, time';

ku-drišṭi 'evil eye'

<--- ku- + drisṭi 'vision, attention';

ku-driššo 'ugly scene; bad-looking, ugly'

<--- ku- + drisso 'scene';

ku-nɔjor 'evil eye'

<--- ku- + nɔjor 'vision, attention';

ku-niti 'evil conduct'

<--- ku- + niti 'conduct, moral';

ku-pɔth 'wrong path, evil course'

<--- ku- + pɔth 'path, way';

ku-putro 'unworthy son'

<--- ku- + putro 'son'

khaš- 'private, personal, directed'

khaš-apil 'a direct appeal'

<--- *khaš-* + *apil* 'appeal'

khaš-kamra 'private chamber'

<--- *khaš-* + *kamra* 'chamber';

khaš-khamar 'farmyard or land in a landlord's own possession; untenanted land'

<--- *khaš-* + *khamar* 'farmyard';

khaš-gelaš 'candelabrum'

<--- *khaš-* + *gelaš* 'glass';

khaš-tɔhošil 'direct collection of revenue'

<--- *khaš-* + *tɔhosil* 'collection of revenue';

khaš-taluk same as *khaš-khamar*

<--- *khaš-* + *taluk* 'estate'

khaš-dɔkhol 'one's own actual possession'

<--- *khaš-* + *dɔkhol* 'possession';

khaš-dɔrbar 'durbar; special or private court'

<--- *khaš-* + *dɔrbar* 'court, hall of audience';

khaš-nobiš 'private secretary'

<--- *khaš-* + *nobiš* 'writer';

(This is an old terminology still current in judicial affairs. However, *khasnobis* is used as a surname by some classes of people whose ancestors presumably held such positions in Nababi era.)

khaš-proja 'direct tenant'

<--- *khaš-* + *proja* 'tenant'

khaš-bɔrdar 'personal bearer, carrier of mace'

<--- *khaš-* + *bɔrdar* 'carrier';

khaš-mɔhol 'private estate'

<--- *khaš-* + *mɔhol*, *mɔhal* 'estate, manor';

khaš-munši 'personal assistant or secretary'

<--- *khaš-* + *munši* 'writer, secretary'

ni- 'negation'

ni-khɔrca 'free of cost'
<--- *ni*- + *khɔroc* 'expense';

ni-khaki 'one who eats little'
<--- *ni*- + *khaki* 'one who eats';
(<--- √*kha* + *ki*)

ni-khad 'pure, without any alloyed content'
<--- *ni*- + *khad* 'base metal';

ni-khŭt 'faultless, spotless'
<--- *ni*- + *khŭt* 'defect'

ni-khŏj 'untraced'
<--- *ni*- + *khŏj* 'trace';

ni-ṭol 'without any depression or hollow'
<--- *ni*- + *ṭol* 'depression, hollow'

ni- 'completeness, specialty'

ni-kuci 'ruin'
<--- *ni*- + *kuci* 'bit, chip'
(cf. *kuci kɔra* 'to cut into small bits')

bɔd- 'evil, bad, ill, wicked'

bɔd-kheyal 'evil design'

<--- *bɔd-* + *kheyal* 'design, whimsy';

bɔd-gɔndho 'bad odor'

<--- *bɔd-* + *gɔndho* 'odor';

bɔd-cal 'bad course'

<--- *bɔd-* + *cal* 'course, action';

bɔd-nam 'bad name'

<--- *bɔd-* + *nam* 'name';

bɔd-nosib 'ill fate'

<--- *bɔd-* + *nosib* 'fate';

bɔd-mejaj 'bad mood'

<--- *bɔd-* + *mejaj* 'mood, mentality';

bɔd-rɔŋ 'unmatched color'

<--- *bɔd-* + *rɔŋ* 'color';

bɔd-rag 'ill temper'

<--- *bɔd-* + *rag* 'temper';

bɔd-lok 'wicked person'

<--- *bɔd-* + *lok* 'man, person';

bɔd-hɔjom 'indigestion'

<--- *bɔd-* + *hɔjom* 'digestion'

bi- (1) 'negation, anti-'

bi-jɔnma 'base-born, bastard'
<--- *bi*- + *jɔnm* 'birth' + -*a*;

bi-jat(i) 'of a different class, caste or religion'
<--- *bi*- + *jat(i)* 'class, caste, etc';

bi-joṛ 'odd, uneven'
<--- *bi*- + *joṛ* 'even, a pair';

bi-ḍhɔp 'ugly, deformed'
<--- *bi*- + *ḍhɔp* 'shape, form';

bi-nama 'nameless'
<--- *bi*- + *nam* 'name' + -*a*;

bi-bhũi 'foreign land'
<--- *bi*- + *bhũi* 'land'

bi-rat as in *rat-birat*
(cf. like forms, *din-ɔdin*, *šɔmoy-ɔšɔmoy*,
where *ɔ*- suggests negation)
<--- *bi*- + *rat* 'might'

Frequently *be*- is substituted for *bi*-(1). As a result, most forms with *bi*- have alternant forms with *be*-, e.g. be-gochalo, be-jɔnma, be-jat(i), *be-joṛ*, *be-ḍhɔp* and *be-nama*. However, there is no such form as **be-bhũi*. There is another *bi*-

which is a source sensitive affix occuring only with Sanskrit roots. *bi*-(1) has a very restricted use and consequently it is treated as a listed item.

There is another *bi*- ~ *be*-, but of a different sort. The above examples will show that *bi*- ~ *be*- functions as a negative affix, and that it does not have any source affiliation. But the example *bi-ghor ~ be-ghor* 'helpless state, deep un-consciousness', shows a different function that is evidenced by the affix *bi*- ~ *be*- indicating 'excessive, intensive emphasis' (*ghor* 'unconsciousness, wild or intoxicated state'). It is presumed here that *bi*- and *bi-ghor* and *bi*-(1) have originated from the same source, viz. Sanskrit *vi*-, but have undergone two different changes in the Bengali language.

bhɔra-, *bhɔr*- (2)

bhɔra-gaŋ, *bhɔr-gaŋ* 'brimful or flooded river'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *gaŋ* 'river';

bhɔra-joubon, *bhɔr-joubon* 'blooming youth'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *joubon* 'youth';

bhɔra-ḍubi, *bhɔr-ḍubi* 'total loss'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *ḍubi* 'sinking';

bhɔra-dunia, *bhɔr-dunia*

'the world that is filled or stuffed'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *dunia* 'world';

bhɔra-dupur, *bhɔr-dupur* 'the noon of the right time';

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *dupur* 'noon';

bhɔra-peṭ, *bhɔr-peṭ* 'bellyful'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *peṭ* 'belly';

bhɔra-šɔŋšar, *bhɔr-šɔŋšar* 'complete or blooming family'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *sɔŋsar* 'family';

bhɔra-šɔndha, -*šondha*, *bhɔr-šɔndha*, -*šondha*

'height of evening'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + -*šɔndha*, -*šondha* 'evening';

bhɔra-saj, *bhɔr-saj* 'full dress'

<--- *bhɔra*-, *bhɔr*- + *saj* 'dress, equipment'

(bhɔra 'full, filled' is a common Verbal Noun in Bengali. But bhɔra ~ bhɔr- does not occur before all the nominals as the verbal noun bhɔra (<--- $\sqrt{\text{bhɔr}}$ + -a) does. Hence the justification of treating this item as a prefix. However, there is another affix, viz. bhɔr (1) 'throughout', which is discussed at the beginning of this chapter.)

Prefixes

Multi-operational

šɔ-

The constructions that take -e (a case suffix) are both adverbials and adjectivals and those which do not take -e are pure adjectivals.

1) Adjectival

šɔ-kam 'lustful'

<--- šɔ- + kam 'lust, desire';

šɔ-cɔl 'moving, current'

<--- šɔ- + cɔl 'moving current';

šɔ-jag 'wakeful'

<--- šɔ- + jag 'to awake' ($\sqrt{\text{jag}}$);

šɔ-jat 'of the same socio-religious group'

<--- šɔ- + jat 'socio-religious group, caste, etc';

šɔ-ṭhik 'precisely correct'

<--- šɔ- + ṭhik 'correct'

šɔ-

2) Adverbial-Adjectival

šɔ-kator(e) 'piteous(ly)

<--- šɔ- + kator 'piteous', distressed';

šɔ-krodh(e) 'angry (angrily)'

<--- šɔ- + krodh 'anger';

šɔ-khed(e) 'sorrowful(ly)'

<--- šɔ- + khed 'sorrow';

šɔ-jor(e) 'very strong(ly)'

<--- šɔ- + jor 'strong, strength';

šɔ-poribar(e) 'with the family'

<--- šɔ- + poribar 'family';

šɔ-šoinno (-soinne) 'accompanying the soldiers'

<--- šɔ- + soinno 'soldier';

šɔ-sneho (-snehe) 'affectionate(ly)

<--- šɔ- + sneho 'affection'

šu- 'good, well' before nouns,
'very, deep, well' before adjectives

1)

šu-din 'good time, time of prosperity'
<--- *šu*- + *din* 'day';

šu-driṣṭi 'good attention, auspicious eye'
<--- *šu*- + *drišṭi* 'vision, attention';

šu-driššo 'good scene; lovely, good-looking'
<--- *šu*- + *driššo* 'scene';

šu-nɔjor 'good attention, auspicious eye'
<--- *šu*- + *nɔjor* 'vision, attention';

šu-nam 'good name, fame'
<--- *šu*- + *nam* 'name';

šu-niti 'good morals'
<--- *šu*- + *niti* 'moral'

šu-pɔth 'good or correct course'
<--- *šu*- + *pɔth* 'path, course';

šu-putro 'good or worthy son'
<--- *šu*- + *putro* 'son'

šu-

2)

šu-koṭhin 'very difficult'

<--- *šu-* + *koṭhin* 'difficult';

šu-gobhir 'very deep'

<--- *šu-* + *gobhir* 'deep';

šu-dirgho 'very long or far'

<--- *šu-* + *dirgho* 'long, far';

šu-dur 'very far or remote'

<--- *šu-* + *dur* 'far, remote';

šu-nil 'deep blue'

<--- *šu-* + *nil* 'blue';

šu-pɔkko 'perfectly ripe, well-cooked'

<--- *šu-* + *pɔkko* 'ripe, matured';

šu-prɔšosto 'very wide'

<--- *šu-* + *prɔšosto* 'wide'

Prefixes

Listed Items

gɔr- 'negative'

gɔr-ador 'disaffection'
<--- *gɔr*- + *ador* 'affection';

gɔr-amali 'without right' (judicial term)
<--- *gɔr*- + *amali* 'right';

gɔr-kobul 'denial'
<--- *gɔr*- + *kobul* 'acknowledgement, promise';

gɔr-kayem 'temporary'
<--- *gɔr*- + *kayem* 'permanent, acquirement';

gɔr-jɔmai 'rent-free' (judicial term)
<--- *gɔr*- + *jɔma* 'rent' + -*i*';

gɔr-pɔchondo 'unapproved'
<--- *gɔr*- + *pɔchondo* 'approved';

gɔr-bibecona 'inconsideration'
<--- *gɔr*- + *bibecona* 'consideration, discrimination';

gɔr-bili 'mis-delivery, disarrangement'
<--- *gɔr*- + *bili* 'distribution, arrangement, delivery';

gɔr- 'negative'

gɔr-bɛbostha 'mismanagement'

<--- gɔr- + bɛbostha 'arrangement, management';

gɔr-mil 'dissimilarity'

<--- gɔr- + mil 'similarity';

gɔr-mojbut 'weak'

<--- gɔr- + mojbut 'strong, lasting';

gɔr-raji 'unwilling'

<--- gɔr- + raji 'willing';

gɔr-layek 'unfit'

<--- gɔr- + layek 'competent';

gɔr-šomoy 'inopportune time'

<--- gɔr- + šomoy 'time';

gɔr-hajir 'absent'

<--- gɔr- + hajir 'present';

gɔr-hišab, -hišeb 'anomaly in accounts'

<--- gɔr- + hišab, -hišeb 'accounts'

(gɔr- + gɔrjela 'a different district or country' forms another class, viz. gɔr-(2); but as the occurence of gɔr-(2) is absent in current SCB, this is not included in the present list. Another example of such archaic construction, the root of which is not easily identifiable by the native speaker, is gɔr-sal 'a recent Muslim convert, a particular Muslim community'

<--- gɔr-(2) + sal (Arabic saliq 'devotee').

dɔr(1) 'partly, slight'

dɔr-kẵca, -kɔca 'partly cooked, uniformly boiled'

<--- dɔr- + kẵca, -kɔca 'green, unripe, uncooked';

kɔca is an archaic item in Bengali, meaning 'hard particle', connected with kuca, kuco, kuci, etc. meaning the same.

dɔr-paka 'half-ripe'

<--- dɔr- + paka 'ripe'

na- 'negative'

after Nom.

na-pɔchondo 'disapproved'

<--- na- + pɔchondo 'approved';

na-layek 'incompetent, unbecoming'

<--- na- + layek 'competent';

nahɔk 'unjust'

<--- na- + hɔk 'just, proper'

pati ~ pat 'of country origin'
(*pat*- only before *kua*, *kuo*)

pati-kak 'a species of crow of small size, common everywhere'

<--- *pati* + *kak* 'crow';

pat-kuo, -*ko* (Ch.); *pat-kua* (Sa.)
'an earthen well, a country well'

<--- *pat* + *kuo*, *kua* 'well';

pati-hãs 'an ordinary species of duck'

<--- *pati* + *hãs* 'duck';

pati-lebu 'lime, commonly grown in the countryside, as opposed to lemon.'
kagji (-*lebu*), 'grapefruit'
batabi (-*lebu*) 'organe'
komola (-*lebu*) which are of large size and are not commonly grown everywhere

<--- *pati* + *lebu* 'an acid fruit'

phi- 'each'

phi-bɔchor 'each year'
<--- phi- + bɔchor 'year';

phi-lok 'each person'
<--- phi- + lok 'person';

phi-šon 'each year'
<--- phi- + son 'year';

phi-šal 'each year'
<--- phi- + sal 'year';

phi-roj 'each day'
<--- phi- + roj 'day'

phul- Eng. 'full'

phul-babu 'a babu par excellence'
<--- phul + babu
'a cultured fellow having some social status';

phul-ṭikiṭ 'a full ticket';

phul-moja 'a full-size stocking';

phul-hata 'a full sleeve'
<--- phul + hat 'sleeve' + -a

be- 'negation, anti-'

be-ain 'injustice'

<--- be- + ain 'justice, law';

be-akkel 'foolish'

<--- be- + akkel 'sense, conscience';

be-kayda 'false position'

<--- be- + kayda 'position, order';

be-ghor 'unconsciousness, helpless state'

<--- be- + ghor;

be-cal 'wrong move'

<--- be- + cal 'move';

be-ṭaim 'untime'

<--- be- + ṭaim = Eng. 'time';

be-ṭhik 'unjust'

<--- be- + ṭhik 'just, right';

be-phãs 'disclosed, exposed'

<--- be- + phãs 'tie, divulged'

hɔr-

(1) 'each, every' before time-words

(2) 'pluralitive, diversive' before other Nominals

(1)

hɔršal 'each year'

<--- hɔr- + šal 'year';

hɔrroj 'every day, daily'

<--- hɔr- + roj 'day, daily';

(currently, roj means daily only; in Persian it means 'day, date'. In hɔrroj, hɔr is emphatically used, as it seems).

(2)

hɔrkisom-, -kisim-er 'of diverse kinds' Adj.

<--- hɔr- + kisom 'kind, type' + -er;

hɔrtɔrɔph 'different sides, parties' N.

<--- hɔr- + tɔrɔph 'side, party';

hɔrdɔphay 'in diverse occasions' Loc.

<--- hɔr- + dɔpha 'time, occasion, item' + -y;

hɔr-

(2)

hɔrdom 'always' Adv.
<--- hɔr + dom 'breath, moment';

hɔrbola 'mimic' N.
<--- hɔr- + bol 'talk' + -a;

hɔrrɔŋa 'of different colors' Adj.
<--- hɔr + rɔŋ 'color' + -a;

hɔrek 'diverse, various' Adj.
<--- hɔr- + æk 'one'

ha- 'anxiety'

ha-ghore 'destitute'

<--- ha- + ghor 'house' + -e (-ia Sa.);

ha-pitteš 'longing'

<--- ha- + pitteš 'expectation';

ha-puti 'unfortunate one having no child but who wants to have one'

<--- ha- + put 'son' + -i;

ha-b(h)ate 'wretched one who always begs for food'

<--- ha- + bhat 'cooked rice' + -e (-ia Sa.);

ha-hutaš 'deep anxiety'

<--- ha- + hutaš 'anxiety, regretfulness'

hap(h)- Eng. 'half'

hap-ak(h)ṛai 'a mixed kind of akhrai; an early nineteenth century musical play that was developed in Calcutta'
<--- *haph-* + *akhrai* 'a late medieval form of musical play';

hap-ṭikiṭ 'half ticket'
<--- *haph-* + *ṭikiṭ* 'ticket'
This construction was presumably borrowed from English in the last century.

hap-moja 'sock', lit. 'half-stocking'
<--- *haph-* + *moja* 'stocking';

hap-hata 'short sleeve'
<--- *haph-* + *hat* 'sleeve' + -*a*;

(*hap* is commonly substituted for *adha*, an adjective meaning 'half'; e.g. *adha-neta*, *hap-neta*, lit. 'half leader; an aspiring leader with little or no ability';
adha-babu, *hap-babu* lit. 'half *babu*';

etc.

heḍ- Eng. 'head'

heḍkuli 'senior coolie'

<--- *heḍ* + *kuli* 'coolie';

heḍ-dɔptori 'senior book-binder (in n office)'

<--- *heḍ* + *dɔptori* 'book-binder';

heḍ-ponḍit 'senior pundit'

<--- *heḍ* + *ponḍit* 'pundit';

heḍ-mistri 'senior mechanic'

<--- *heḍ* + *mistri* 'mechanic'

Sanskrit Prefixes

I

As Sanskrit is frequently borrowed in Bengali, all the Sanskrit upasargas (prefixes) are presented below with illustrations. (It may be noted here that the Sanskrit upasargas occur only before verbal roots, not before nominal roots. However, if any prefix is added to the nominal root, the resultant construction is treated as a compound (avyayībhāva) in the Sanskrit grammar).

These twenty prefixes are called upasargas in Sanskrit: pra- (*pro-*), parā (*pora-*), apa- (*ɔpo-*), sam- (*som*-C, *som*-V), ni- (*ni-*), ava- (*ɔbo-*), ɔnu- (*onu*), nir- (*nir-*), dur- (*dur-*), vi- (*bi-*), adhi- (*odhi-*), su- (*su-*), ut- (*ut-*), pari- (*pori-*), prati- (*proti-*), abhi- (*obhi-*), ati- (*oti-*), api- (*opi-*), upa- (*upo-*), a- (*a-*). (The parenthesised items are the phonemicised forms in Bengali).

šu- is already treated as a structure-based prefix; and *opi-* does not occur as prefix in Bengali (even in Sanskrit its occurence is very limited). In Bengali *opi* occurs as suffix in some cases, e.g. *joddopi* (<--- *jodi* + *opi*;

Skt. yadi + api), tɔthapi (<--- tɔtha + opi; Skt. tathā + api), etc. So, these two items are omitted in the following list.

There are some more Sanskrit prefixes and bound nouns current in Bengali. Those items will be discussed in the next section. The Sanskrit upasargas are ordered here according to the usual convention of the Sanskrit grammarians.

While all the items that are current in Bengali are underlined in all the sections, the particular items that are recently created by various experts (including Government bodies) for terminological purposes, are underlined with two bars.

pro- 'entirety, fullness, specialisation, etc.'

pro-kɔmpon 'severe trembling, vibration'
<--- *pro-* + *kɔmpon* 'trembling, vibration';

pro-dip 'lamp'
<--- *pro-* + *dip* 'lamp';

pro-tɔptɔ 'heated'
<--- *pro-* + *tɔpto* 'heated';

pro-dan 'giving'
<--- *pro-* + *dan* 'giving';

pro-yog 'use, application'
<--- *pro-* + *jog* (√*jog* *kɔra* 'to add, apply')

pɔra 'reverse'

pɔra-jɔy 'defeat'
<--- *pɔra-* + *jɔy* 'victory'

ɔpo- 'low, inferior', etc.

ɔpo-kɔrmo 'misdeed'

<--- *ɔpo-* + *kɔrmo* 'action, deed';

ɔpo-bbæy 'wastage'

<--- *ɔpo-* + *bæy* 'expenditure';

ɔpo-man 'insult'

<--- *ɔpo-* + *man* 'respect';'

ɔpo-mrittu 'unnatural death'

<--- *ɔpo-* + *mrittu* 'death';

ɔpo-hɔrɔn 'stealing'

<--- *ɔpo-* + *hɔron* 'stealing'

šɔm- 'completeness'

šɔmacchɔnno 'completely covered'
<--- šɔm- + acchonno 'covered';

šɔmador 'cordial reception, esteem'
<--- šɔm- + ador 'affection, caress';

šɔmucit 'proper, fit'
<--- šɔm- + ucit 'proper';

šɔmorpɔn 'giving, offer'
<--- šɔm- + ɔrpon 'giving';

šɔŋ-bidhi 'statute'
<--- šɔm- + bidhi 'law';

šɔm-bhašon 'address, reception'
<--- šɔm- + bhašon 'talk, address';

šɔm-mukh 'front'
<--- šɔm- + mukh 'face, front';

šɔŋ-šɔd 'parliament'
<--- šɔm- + šɔd 'gathering'
(nišɔd, odhišɔd).

ni- 'specialty, distinctiveness'

ni-kkhep 'throwing'
<--- *ni-* + *khep(on)* 'throwing';

ni-piṛon 'oppression'
<--- *ni-* + *piṛon* 'pressing';

ni-jukto 'appointed'
<--- *ni-* + *jukto* 'joined';

nišɔd 'syndicate'
<--- *ni-* + *sɔd* 'gathering'
(cf. *odhi-šɔd*, *šɔŋšɔd*)

ɔbo-

1) 'lowness, derogation'

ɔbo-tɔron 'descent'
<--- ɔbo- + tɔron 'moving';

ɔbo-man 'contempt'
<--- ɔbo- + man 'respect';

ɔbo-rohon 'descent'
<--- ɔbo- + rohon 'ascend'

2) 'specialty'

ɔbo-dan 'contribution'
<--- ɔbo- + dan 'offering'
(in Sanskrit ava-dān means 'oblation, piece, purification, etc.);

ɔbo-rodh 'blockade'
<--- ɔbo- + rodh 'blockade';

ɔbo-lopon 'writing off'
<--- ɔbo- + lopon 'extinction'
($\sqrt{\text{lop}}$ kɔra)

onu-

1) 'repetitive'

onu-kkhɔn 'at every moment'

<--- onu- + khɔn 'moment';

onu-din 'every day'

<--- onu- + din 'day';

2) 'analogical'

onu-kɔron 'imitation'

<--- onu- + kɔron 'doing';

onu-rup 'similar'

<--- onu- + rup 'form';

3) 'sub'

onu-promanɔk 'sub-voucher'

<--- onu- + promanɔk 'voucher'

onu-bhag

<--- onu- + bhag 'division';

onu-širšo 'sub-head'

<--- onu- + širšo 'head'

4) 'specialty'

onu-dan 'grant'

<--- onu- + dan 'offer'

nir-

1) 'negation'

nirɔnno 'destitute + food'

<--- nir- + ɔnno 'food';

niraša 'disappointment'

<--- nir- + aša 'expectation';

2) 'certainty, specialty'

nirukti 'determination'

<--- nir- + ukti 'statement';

nirdharon 'assess'

<--- nir- + dharon 'ascertaining'

dur-

1) 'bad'

durãtta 'mixed'

<--- dur- + ãtta 'soul';

durodrišṭo 'ill luck'

<--- dur- + ɔdrisṭo 'luck';

durjon 'villian'

<--- dur- + jɔn 'person'

2) 'difficulty, negation'

durbɔl 'weak'

<--- dur- + bɔl 'strength';

dur-bodh 'incomprehensible'

<--- dur- + bodh 'comprehension'

bi-

1) 'negation, de-'

bi-pradešikɔron 'deprovincialisation'

<--- bi- + pradeši-k^{ɔ}ron 'provincialisation';

bi-srišṭi 'abandonment'

<--- bi- + srišṭi 'creation';

bi-ššad 'tasteless'

<--- bi- + sad 'taste'

2) 'specialty'

bi-kkhæto 'famous'

<--- bi- + khæto 'famous';

bi-ggæn 'science'

<--- bi- + gæn 'knowledge';

bi-nirn$_{ɔ}$y 'award (of a tribunal)'

<--- bi- + nirnɔy 'conclusion'

odhi- 'super, sur, specialty'

odhi-kɔr 'super-tax'

<--- odhi- + kɔr 'tax';

odhi-bhar 'sur-charge'

<--- odhi- + bhar 'charge';

odhi-šɔd 'senate'

<--- odhi- + šɔd 'gathering, assembly'

(cf. šɔŋ-šɔd, ni-šɔd)

ut-

1) 'excessiveness'

ut-tɔpto 'hot'

<--- ut- + tɔpto 'hot';

ut-tolon 'lifting'

<--- ut- + tolon 'lifting';

udbašon 'evacuation'

<--- ut- + bašon 'lining'

pori-

1) 'entirety, fullness'

pori-cchɔd 'clothing'

<--- pori- + chɔd 'cover';

pori-dɔršok 'inspector'

<--- pori- + dɔrsok 'visitor';

pori-pɔkko 'well-cooked or ripened'

<--- pori- + pɔkko 'ripe, cooked';

pori-purno 'quite full, whole'

<--- pori- + purno 'full';

pori-šɔd 'council'

<--- pori- + sɔd 'assembly'

proti-

1) 'counter, parallel'

proti-kriti 'image'

<--- *proti*- + *kriti* 'work';

proti-citro 'image; portrait'

<--- *proti*- + *citro* 'picture';

proti-ddhoni 'echo'

<--- *proti*- + *dhoni* 'sound';

proti-pɔtro 'counter-foil'

<--- *proti*- + *pɔtro* 'leaf';

proti-hiŋša 'counter violence'

<--- *proti*- + *hiŋsa* 'violence'

2) 'anti'

proti-kria 'reaction'

<--- *proti*- + *kriya* 'action'

obhi-

1) 'progression'

obhi-mukh 'front'

<--- obhi- + mukh 'face, front';

obbhægɔto 'guest; received into one's house'

<--- obhi- + agɔto 'one who has come';

2) 'all inclusive'

obhi-bbækto 'well-expressed'

<--- obhi- + bækto 'expressed';

obhi-jacon 'demand'

<--- obhi- + jacon 'praying';

obbhutthan 'rising, elevation'

<--- obhi- + utthan 'rising';

obbhudɔy 'emergence'

<--- obhi- + udoy 'rising'

oti- 'excessive, superfluous, over-'

oti-brišṭi 'excessive rain'

<--- *oti-* + *brisṭi* 'rain';

ottukti (*oti*+*ukti*) 'superfluous talk, exaggeration'

<--- *oti-* + *ukti* 'quotation, reporting, talk';

ottutpadon 'over-production'

<--- *oti-* + *utpadon* 'production'

upo- 'near'

1)

upo-kɔnṭho '(lit. near the neck, i.e. vicinity), suburbs'

<--- upo- + kɔnṭho 'neck';

upo-kul 'coast'

<--- upo- + kul 'edge, border, coast'

2) 'sub, assistant, vice- , etc.'

upacarjo 'vice-chancellor'

<--- upo- + acarjo 'chancellor';

upo-nirbacon 'by-election'

<--- upo- + nirbacon 'election';

upo-bidhi 'by-law'

<--- upo- + bidhi 'law';

upo-montri 'deputy minister'

<--- upo- + montri 'minister';

upo-rašṭropoti 'vice-president'

<--- upo- + rašṭropoti 'president';

upo-šakha 'sub-section'

<--- upo- + šakha 'section'

upo-šocib 'assistant secretary'

<--- upo- + šocib 'secretary'

a-

1) 'incoming, forwarding'

a-gɔmon 'coming'

<--- a- + gɔmon 'going; moving';

a-dan 'receiving'

<--- a- + dan 'giving';

2) 'throughout, until, extensivity'

a-jibon 'throughout the life'

<--- a- + jibon 'life';

a-mɔron 'until death'

<--- a- + mɔron 'death';

a-šomudro-himacɔl '(the land) from the ocean to the Himalayas'

Sanskrit Prefixes

II

Various Sanskrit bound nouns are used as prefixes in Bengali. Here only those items are presented which are being used intensively now-a-days.

prak-

prak-poricɔy 'antecedents'

<--- prak- + poricoy

mɔha-

mɔhadhikɔron 'supreme court'

<--- mɔha + odhikɔron 'court';

mɔha-næbadi 'Attorney-General'

<--- mɔha- + næybadi 'attorney'

mɔha-biddalɔy 'college'

<--- mɔha + biddalɔy 'school'

mukkho- 'chief'

mukkho-ganonik 'chief accountant'

<--- mukkho- + ganonik 'accountant';

mukkho-montri 'chief minister'

<--- mukkho- + montri 'minister'

sɔho-

šɔho-kari 'assistant'

<--- šɔho- + kari 'one who does';

šɔho-jogi 'associate'

<--- šɔho- + jogi 'one who collaborates';

šɔho-jojon 'co-option'

<--- šɔho- + jojon 'addition';

šɔho-šikkhɔk 'assistant teacher'

<--- šɔho- + šikkhɔk 'teacher';

šɔho-šocib 'assistant secretary'

<--- šɔho- + šocib 'secretary'

Perso-Arabic Prefixes

dɔr (2) 'subordinate'

dɔr-ijara 'under-lease'

<--- dɔr- + ijara 'lease';

dɔr-pɔttoni 'permanent underlease'

<--- dɔr- + pɔttoni 'a form of permanent lease';

dɔr-paṭṭa 'a receiver of charter from a paṭṭadar

(a charter-issuing authority)

<--- dɔr- + paṭṭa 'charter'

dɔr- + dɔrdalan

(<--- dɔr 'inside' + dalan 'a brick-built hall'), a hall with attached rooms; a twin hall' should form another class, viz. dɔr (3), as it has different meaning than the one which occured in the above three examples. But dɔr (3) is not easily identifiable in most constructions in Bengali, e.g. dɔrkar (<--- Pers. dɔr- + kar 'work'). So far, only one example has appeared, viz. dɔr-dalan, where dɔr (3) occurs as a true source-sensitive prefix in Bengali (according to the definition given before).

nim- 'partial, half'

nim-khun 'grievous hurt amounting to murder'

<--- nim- + khun 'murder';

nim-molla 'an untrained or ignorant mulla (a Muslim priest)';

nim-raji 'partial or almost agreeable'

<--- nim- + raji 'agreeable';

nim-hakim 'quack'

<--- nim- + hakim 'physician'

bɔ- 'according to' before time-words
(only one example)
'with, by' before other Nom.

1)

bɔ-tarikh 'according to the date'
<--- bɔ- + tarikh 'date';

2)

bɔ-kɔlom 'substitution, signiture for illiterate person'
<--- bɔ- + kɔlom 'pen';

bɔ-kayda 'by trick or subjection'
<--- bɔ- + kayda 'trick, rule, etc.';

bɔ-todbir 'by supervision'
<--- bɔ- + todbir 'supervision';

bɔ-dostur 'conventionally, according to custom'
<--- bɔ- + dostur 'custom, fashion';

bɔ-nam 'in the name of'
<--- bɔ- + nam 'name'
As court term it means 'alias', and elsewhere it means 'versus'

bɔ-mal 'together with stolen goods'
<--- bɔ- + mal 'goods'

Sometimes *bɔmal* is used just for 'stolen goods' (folk etymology), and alternant forms as follows would be witnessed frequently:

še bɔmal dhɔra poṛeche --

še bɔmal-šuddho (or bɔmal-šɔho) dhɔra poṛeche

'he is caught red-handed.'

Suffixes

Preliminary remarks

Suffixes are divided into three broad divisions, viz. 1) Reduplication, 2) Primary suffixes, and 3) Secondary suffixes. Two lists of Sanskrit suffixes (Primary and Secondary) are, however, incomplete. As primary suffixes and secondary suffixes occur with the primary and secondary roots only and the reduplicational suffixes occur with both of them, this division is both convenient and justified.

1.0 Reduplication

The reduplicated forms that have no special formatives to be affiliated with the reduplication feature alone are excluded from this section. For example, *khawa-pɔra*, *nacon-kõdon*: -*a* and -*on* affixes of these two examples are ordinary primary formatives. Actually, *khawa* and *pɔra* are two resultant forms, derived independently, and then these are tied together to form a compound; and in this process the second example, viz. *nacon-kõdon*, results. But there are some other formative affixes that occur only with the reduplicated forms. Such affixes will be discussed in this section.

The reduplicated suffixes, discussed below, are of various kinds. These occur in various positions, and with various categories of stems. Again, these fall into various operational categories. The important features of these suffixes are given in the following schematic representation:

1 Morpheme Number	2 Morpheme shape	3 Operational Categories	34 Stem Categories	5 Positional Categories
Red 1.1	-a(~ -o)...-i	Multi-operational	Primary-Secondary	Sequential
Red 1.2	-ani ~ -uni	Multi-operational	*Primary	Final
Red 1.3	-i^1	Multi-operational	Primary	Repetitive
Red 1.4	-o^1	Multi-operational	Primary	Repetitive
Red 1.5	-or ~ -ur	Multi-operational	*Primary	Repetitive
Red 1.6	-ke	Mono-operational	Secondary	Initial
Red 1.7	-ṛa	List-operational	Secondary	Final

* Primary stems of this category are mostly of onomatopoetic origin.

Red 1.1

-a (~ -o) ... -i: -o with the stem having u, o; -a elsewhere:

kacha-kachi 'near to each other'
(<--- (kach + -a) + (kach + -i));

cokho-cokhi 'looking at each other'
(<--- (cokh + -o) + (cokh + -i));

dapa-dapi 'raging and fuming'
(<--- (dap + -a) + (dap + -i));

dækha-dekhi 'looking at each other'
(<--- (dekh +-a) + (dekh + -i));

hata-hati 'scuffle with the hand'
(<--- (hat + -a) + (hat + -i));

Red 1.2

-ani ~ -uni: -uni with stems having high vowels, -ani elsewhere. (In Sa. -ani in all cases).

a) with similar reduplicated stems:

kuṭkuṭuni (Sa. kuṭkuṭani) 'irritation'
(<--- kuṭ-kuṭ +);

ghænghænani 'whining cry'
(<--- ghæn-ghæn +);

cæṭcæṭani 'harshness'
(<--- cæṭ-cæṭ +);

jhɔnjhɔnani 'jingling sound'
(<--- jhɔn-jhɔn +);

ṭɔnṭɔnani 'throbbing sensation'
(<--- ṭɔn-ṭɔn +);

b) with dissimilar (having change in the initial consonant) reduplicated stems:

chɔṭphɔṭani 'restlessness'
(<--- chɔṭ-phɔṭ +);

(-ani of hãpani is seemingly of this sort of suffix)

Red 1.3

-i^1

khai-khai 'insatiable desire for eating'

(<--- (√kha + -i) + (√kha + -i));

poṛi-poṛi 'about to fall'

(<--- (√pɔṛ + -i) + (√pɔṛ + -i));

hãṭi-hãṭi 'untrained walking'

(<--- (√hãṭ + -i) + (√hãṭ + -i));

haši-haši 'ridiculing'

(<--- (√has + -i) + (√has + -i));

Red 1.4

-o^1 (~ -u)

-o after ɔ, a; -u after high vowel

kãdo-kãdo 'almost weeping'

(<--- (√kãd + -o) + (√kãd + -o));

ḍubu-ḍubu 'almost flooded, on the point of sinking'

(<--- (√ḍub + -u) + (√ḍub + -u));

nibu-nibu 'on the point of being extinct'

(<--- (√nib + u) + (√nib + -u));

pɔṛo-pɔṛo 'about to fall'

(<--- (√pɔṛ + -o) + (√pɔṛ + -o));

Red 1.5

-or ~ -ur: -ur after high vowels, -or elsewhere: occurs recursively with each stem.

gɔjor-gɔjor 'grumbling'

(<--- (gɔj + -or) + (gɔj + -or));

ghænor-ghænor 'whining'

(<--- (ghæn + -or) + (ghæn + -or));

phušur-phušur 'whispering'

(<--- (phus + -or) + (phus + -or));

bɔkor-bɔkor 'babbling'

(<--- (bɔk + -or) + (bɔk + -or));

Red 1.6

-ke 'wholeness, totality'

gramke-gram 'the whole village'

(<--- gram + -ke + gram);

ghɔnṭake-ghɔnṭa 'the whole hour'

(<--- ghɔnṭa + -ke + ghɔnṭa);

deške-deš 'the whole country'

(<--- deš + -ke + deš);

bɔchorke-bɔchor 'the whole year'

(<--- bɔchor + -ke + bɔchor);

maške-maš 'the whole month'

(<--- maš + -ke + maš);

Red 1.7

-ṛa 'plurality'

gach-gachṛa	'plants and the like'
(<---	Reduplication of gach 'tree' + -ṛa)
raja-rajṛa	'kings and the like'
(<---	Reduplication of raj(a) 'king' + -ṛa)

2.0 Primary Suffixes

Mono-operational

Pri 2.1

-a^1 'causative'

It transforms any non-causative stem into a causative stem, e.g.

$\sqrt{\text{kɔr}}$	'to do'
$\sqrt{\text{kora}}$	'to make one to do'
$\sqrt{\text{kha}}$	'to eat'
$\sqrt{\text{khawa}}$	'to feed'

Pri 2.2

-a^2 ~ -ano: -a after non-causative root, -ano after causative root.

There are two -a (~ -ano)s merged into one. First -a^1 (~ -ano^1) transforms any verbal root into a verbal noun. And the second -a^2(~-ano^2) transforms any verbal root into a past participle, e.g.

rãdha ($\sqrt{\text{rãdh}}$ 'to cook' + -a^1) 'cooking'

as in

tar rãdha-ṭa bhalo hoyeche 'her cooking is good, indeed';

rãdha (*rãdh* + -*a*^{2}) 'cooked'

as in

rãdha-bhat 'cooked rice'

Similarly

tar rãdhanoṭa bhalo hoyeche and

rãdhano-bhat

Pri 2.3

-ar (~ -nor) ~ *-bar* 'adjectival'

-*ar* ~ -*bar* after non-causative stem; -*nor* ~ -*bar* after causative stem. -*bar* is optional alternant in both cases.

kɔrar, *kɔrbar* as in *kɔrar* or *kɔrbar* *cešṭa* 'an effort to do';

kɔranor, *kɔrabar* (*cešṭa*) '(an effort) to make one to do';

khawar, *khabar* (*cešṭa*) '(an effort) to eat';

khawanor, *khawabar* (*cešṭa*) '(an effort) to feed'

Pri 2.4

-on^{1} 'nominaliser'

-on is used as mono-operational formative to form verbal nouns in some dialects, especially in East Bengali dialects. SCB replaces it by -a in most cases. However, -on is still common in SCB and it is in the process of being shifted from the category of Mono-operational affix to that of Multi-operational affix. For the present, it is kept in the first category.

gɔṛon 'formation'
<--- √gɔṛ 'to build, form' + -on;

cɔlon 'moving, walking'
<--- √cɔl 'to move, go, walk' + -on;

nacon 'dance'
<--- √nac 'to dance' + -on;

bãdhon 'tying, knot'
<--- √bãdh 'to tie' + -on;

bhaŋon 'break'
<--- √bhaŋ 'to break' + -on;

Pri 2.5

-une (~ -ne (after causative root) = -onia (~ -niá) sadhu

In Sa. Bengali it is a mono-operational morph, while in SCB it is a multi-operational one. Again, in dialects, it is in the first category. However, it is placed here in the mono-operational group.

a)

kãdune (= Sa. kãdonia) 'one who weeps always'
<---√kãd 'to weep' + -une;

nacune (= Sa. naconia) 'lit. dancing; one who is incited very easily'
<--- √nac 'to dance' + -une;

b)

jagane (Sa. jagania) 'one who awakens'
<--- √jaga 'to awaken' + -ne;

bhaŋane (Sa. bhaŋania) 'one who breaks'
<--- √bhaŋa 'to break' + -ne;

2.0 Primary Suffixes

Multi-operational

Pri 2.6

$-\underline{\emptyset}$

There are three allomorphs or rather three morphophonemic variants that constitute the morpheme $\underline{\emptyset}$; these might be called $-\underline{\emptyset}^1$, $-\underline{\emptyset}^2$ and $-\underline{\emptyset}^3$.

a) $\underline{\emptyset}^1$ occurs after a group of primary stems that remain unchanged:

cɔl 'custom, fashion, currency'
<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{cɔl}}}$ + $\underline{\emptyset}^1$

ḍak 'a call'
<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{ḍak}}}$ 'to call' + $-\underline{\emptyset}^1$

ḍub
<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{ḍub}}}$ + $-\underline{\emptyset}^1$

bhul 'mistake'
<--- **bhul* (cf. *bhul kɔra* 'to make a mistake';
also cf. $\sqrt{\underline{\text{bhul}}}$ 'to forget') + $-\underline{\emptyset}^1$

b) $-\emptyset^2$ occurs after a group of primary stems that change the height of their internal vowels (it is always from high to low).

khŏj 'inquiry, trace'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{khŭj}}$ 'to look for, find' + $-\emptyset^2$

gher 'enclosure'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{ghir}}$ 'to enclose' + $-\emptyset^2$

jhŏk 'inclination, risk'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{jhŭk}}$ 'to incline' + $-\emptyset^2$

poš 'domestication'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{puš}}$ 'to domesticate' + $-\emptyset^2$

c) $-\emptyset^3$ occurs after a group of primary stems that change the vertical position of their internal vowels (it is from *ɔ* (*o*) to *a*).

car 'bait (for fish)'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{cɔr}}$ 'to graze, wander' + $-\emptyset^3$

cal 'move, fashion, trucks'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{cɔl}}$ 'to move' + $-\emptyset^3$

ṭal 'depression'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{ṭɔl}}$ 'to vacillate, move' + $-\emptyset^3$

Pri 2.7

-*ie*

koie 'one who speaks efficiently'

<--- √*ko* 'to speak' + -*ie*;

khaie 'one who eats voraciously'

<--- √*kha* 'to eat' + -*ie*;

khaṭie 'one who works hard'

<--- √*khaṭ* 'to work' + -*ie*;

gaie 'one who sings'

<--- √*ga* 'to sing' + -*ie*;

bajie 'one who plays upon instruments'

<--- √*baja* 'to play upon instruments'

(causative form of √*baj* 'to make sound')

+ -*ie*;

Pri 2.8

-uni (= -on^1 + -i)

Thus -uni might be considered as an extension of -on^1, caused by the occurence of the following -i.

ãṭuni (=ãṭon, ãṭoni) 'tightness'
<--- √ãṭ 'to stick' + ;

kãduni (=kãdon, kãdoni) 'lamentation'
<--- √kãd 'to lament, weep' + ;

khaṭuni (=khaṭon, khaṭoni) 'labour'
<--- √khaṭ 'to work, labour' + ;

coluni (=cɔlon, cɔloni) 'fashion of walking'
<--- √col 'to move, walk' + ;

joluni (=jɔlon, jɔloni) 'burning sensation'
<--- √jol 'to burn' + ;

bãdhuni (=bãdhon, bãdhoni) 'tying, knot'
<--- √bãdh 'to tie' + ;

Pri 2.9

-*ti* after intransitive primary roots

uṭhti 'rise, growth'
<--- √*uṭh* 'to rise' + -*ti*;

kaṭti 'sale, consumption'
<--- √*kaṭ* 'to sell (intransitive verb)' + ;

komti 'decrease, lack'
<--- √*kom* 'to decrease' + ;

colti 'running, customary'
<--- √col 'to move, walk' + ;

poṛti 'decline, decrease'
<--- √*poṛ* 'to fall, decline' + ;

phirti 'return'
<--- √*phir* 'to return' + ;

baṛti 'extra'
<--- √*baṛ* 'to be excessive' + ;

2.0 *Primary Suffixes*

Listed Items

Pri 2.10

-*ai* (~ *i*^{2})

1) after transitive verbs:

utrai 'slope, declivity'

<--- √*utra* 'to descend' + -*ai*;

coṛai 'ascent, acclivity'

<--- √*cɔṛ* 'to ascend' + -*ai*;

chẵṭai 'retrenchment, amendment'

<--- √*chẵṭ* 'to exclude, amend' + -*ai*;

jacai 'test, bargain'

<--- √*jac* 'to test, solicit' + -*ai*;

ḍhalai 'casting'

<--- √*ḍhal* 'to pour' + -*ai*;

bẵdhai 'binding'

<--- √*bẵdh* 'to tie, bind' + -*ai*

2) after intransitive verbs:

haši 'laughing'

<--- √*haš* 'to laugh' + -*i*;

ḍubi

jhuli 'a knapsack'

<--- √*jhul* 'to swing, hang' + -*i*;

The complementation as found in the two sub-lists ceases to exist if we include *lɔṛai* 'fight' (<--- √*lɔṛ* 'to fight' + -*ai*) in the first sub-list; but probably we can identify this item as a loan from Hindi. Thus the transitive-intransitive categorisation in the morpheme *ai ~ i* remains undisturbed.

Pri 2.11

-*ao*

gherao 'surrounding'
<--- √*gher* 'to surround' + -*ao*;

cɔṛao 'assault'
<--- √*cɔṛ* 'to ascend' + -*ao*;

ḍhalao 'profuse, ample'
<--- √*ḍhal* 'to pour' + -*ao*

Pri 2.12

-*ani*^{2}

hãpani 'asthma'
<--- √*hãp* 'panting' + -*ani*;
(cf. -*ani*^{1} of the reduplicated group,
Red 1.1).

Pri 2.13

-*ani*[3], -*uni*

-*ni*, after causative root, i.e.

Root + -*a* + -*ni* ---> Root + -*ani*

(-*uni* is due to the vowel harmony).

kẵpani, *kẵpuni* 'trembling'

<--- √*kẵp* 'to tremble' + -*ani*, -*uni*;

jhẵkani, *jhẵkuni* 'shaking'

<--- √*jhẵk* 'to shake' + -*ani*, -*uni*

Pri 2.14

-*ari*

ḍuburi (vowel harmony <--- *ḍubari*) 'diver'

<--- √*ḍub* 'to sink, dive' + -*ari*;

dhunuri (vowel harmony <--- *dhunari*) 'cotton cleaner'

<--- √*dhun* 'to clean cotton with a bow' + -*ari*;

kaṭari 'chopper'

<--- √kaṭ 'to chop' + -*ari*

Pri 2.15

-*o*^{2}

uṛo 'flying' (as in *uṛo*-jahaj 'airplane')

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{ur}}$ 'to fly' + -*o*;

poṛo 'waste, abandoned'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{poṛ}}$ 'to remain, stay'

(cf. *poṛe* *thak*) + -*o*

There is another *-o^2 ~ -ua* which is found only in one example, i.e. *poṛo* ~ *poṛua* 'reader' (<--- $\sqrt{\textit{poṛ}}$ 'to read' + *-o^2 ~ -ua*).

Pri 2.16

-*ok*

coṛok 'a folk ceremony of swinging or whirling on a post'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{coṛ}}$ 'to climb, mount' + -*ok*;

moṛok 'cover, packet'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{moṛ}}$ 'to cover' + -*ok*

Pri 2.17

-*ot* 'participial'

cɔlot 'fashion, custom'

<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{cɔl}}}$ 'to move' + -*ot*;

parot (as in *parot-pokkhe*)

<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{par}}}$ 'to be able ('can, may')' + -*ot*;

pherot 'return'

<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{pher}}}$ 'to return' + -*ot*;

bɔsot (as in *bɔsot-baṛi*) 'living'

(<--- $\sqrt{\underline{\text{bas}}}$ kɔra 'to live'; change of *bas* to *bɔs* is to be noticed);

manot 'vow, wish'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{man}}$ 'to abide, to accept' + -*ot*.

Pri 2.18

-n ~ -on^2

-oné^2 after non-causative stem

-n after causative stem

a) after non-causative stem

jhaṛon 'duster'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{jhaṛ}}$ 'to dust off' + -on;

majon 'tooth paste or powder'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{maj}}$ 'to cleanse' + -on

b) after causative stem:

calan 'despatch'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{cala}}$ 'to move' + -n;

janan 'intimation'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{jana}}$ 'to inform' + -n;

manan 'fitting'

<--- $\sqrt{\text{mana}}$ 'to fit' + -n

Pri 2.19

-_onto_ 'present participial'

uṛonto 'flying'

<--- √_uṛ_ 'to fly' + -_onto_;

ghumonto 'sleeping'

<--- √_ghuma_ 'to sleep + -_onto_;

cɔlonto 'moving'

<--- √_cɔl_ 'to move' + -_onto_;

chuṭonto 'running'

<---√_chuṭ_ 'to run' + -_onto_;

jionto 'living'

<--- √_*ji_ (medieval Bengali stem √_jiwa_)

'to be alive' + -_onto_;

poṛonto 'falling'

<--- √_pɔṛ_ 'to fall' + -_onto_;

baṛonto 'growing'

<--- √_baṛ_ 'to grow' + -_onto_

Pri 2.20

-uk (-V(owel), harmonic); i.e.

-e after base with from vowel (example with -i),

-a, o after base with other vowels)

mišuk, mišuke 'sociable'

<--- √miš 'to mix' + -uk + -e;

khauka (Sa.), kheko (Ch.) 'eaten into'

<--- √kha 'to eat' + (-uk + -a; -ek + -o);

e.g. mɔṛa-kheko kukur 'a dog that eats into corpses'; ĩdure-kheko 'eaten into by rats'.

In SCB the latter form is commonly substituted by the following form: ĩdure khawa.

Pri 2.20

-na

(1)

khælna 'toy'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{khæl}}$ 'to play' + -na;

calna 'sieve'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{cal}}$ 'to sift' + -na;

chãkna 'strainer'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{chãk}}$ 'to strain' + -na;
(for chãkni see -ni # S)

ṭhækna 'a prop'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{*ṭhek}}$ (cf. ṭhæka dɛwa) 'to prop' + -na;

ḍhakna 'a lid'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{ḍhak}}$ 'to cover' + -na;
(for ḍhakni see -ni # S)

dolna 'cradle'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{dol}}$ 'to swing' + -na;

bælna 'roller'
<--- $\sqrt{\text{bæl}}$ 'to roll' + -na

Pri 2.20

(2)

a)

dena 'debt'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{de}}$ 'to give' + -*na*;

pawna 'due, claim'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{pa}}$ 'to get, receive' + -*na*;

b)

kanna 'weeping'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{kā̃d}}$ 'to weep' + -*na*;

ranna 'cooking'

<--- $\sqrt{\textit{rā̃dh}}$ 'to cook' + -*na*

2.0 Primary Suffixes

Sanskrit

Sanskrit names are given in the parenthesis with quotation marks.

Pri 2.22

-ok ('ṇak')

jajok 'priest, pastor' (cf. jajon 'conducting of a sacrifice, office of a priest'
<--- √*jaj + -ok;

paṭhok 'reader'
<--- √*path (cf. paṭh kɔra 'to read') + -ok;

lekhok 'writer'
<--- √likh 'to write' + -ok;

Pri 2.23

-on ('anaṭ'

pɔton 'falling'
<--- √*pɔt (cf. paton, potito) + -on;

bhojon 'eating'
<--- √*bhoj (cf. bhojjo) + -on;

šadhon 'doing, execution'
<--- √*šadh (cf. šaddho, šadhito) + -on;

šobhon 'fitting'
<--- √*šobh (cf. šobha, šobhito) + -on;

Pri 2.24

-onio (-anīya')

ɔrconio 'worthy of worship or honour'
<--- *ɔrc (<--- √arc-) + -onio
(cf. ɔrcon, orcito, ɔrcok);

kɔronio 'to be done'
<--- kɔr (<--- √kf́-) + -onio;

gɔmonio 'accessible'
<--- *gɔm (<--- √gam-) + -onio;

dɔršonio 'of visiting interest'
<--- dɔrš (<--- √df́ś-) + -onio

Pri 2.25 -tobbo

kɔrtobbo 'duty'
<--- kɔr (<--- √kf́-) + -tobbo;

gɔntobbo 'attainable; to which one is to go'
<--- *gɔm (<--- √gam-) + -tobbo;

bɔktobbo 'speech or talk to be delivered'
<--- *bɔc (<--- √vac-) + -tobbo

gætobbo 'knowable'
<--- *gæ (<--- √jna-) + -tobbo

Pri 2.26

-*man* ('śan')

driššoman 'visible, manifest'

<--- *driššo* (<--- √*dŕś*-) + -*man*;

bɔrtoman 'present'

<--- *bɔrto* (<--- √*vŕt*-) + -*man*;

biddoman 'present, existing'

<--- *biddo* (<--- √*vid*-) + -*man*;

birajoman 'conspicuous'

<--- *biraj* (<--- *vi* + √*raj*-) + -*man*;

mrioman 'sad, dejected'

<--- *mrio* (<--- √*mri*-) + -*man*

3.0 *Secondary Suffixes*

Mono-operational

Sec 3.1

-*gocher* 'like'

ceargocher 'chair-like'

(<--- *cear* 'chair' + -gocher);

choṭogocher 'like something small'

(<--- *choṭo* + -*gocher*);

ṭebilgocher 'table-like'

(<--- *ṭebil* 'table' + -*gocher*);

bɔṛogocher 'like something big'

(<--- *bɔṛo* + -*gocher*);

lɔmbagocher 'like something tall'

(<--- *lɔmba* + -*gocher*);

Sec 3.2

-ṭi (~ -ṭe, -ṭo) ~ -ṭa 'definitive'

after nominals, verbal nouns;

-ṭi for familiar, affectionate;

-ṭa for general purpose;

(after numerals) *-ṭe* with *tin* and *car*;

-ṭo with *du*;

ekṭi, *ækṭa* 'one' (<--- *ek* +);

duṭi ~ *duṭo*, *duṭa* 'two' (<--- *du* +);

lokṭi, *lokṭa* 'the man' (<--- *lok* +);

Sec 3.3

-*tto* to form abstract noun:

after nominals

amitto 'egoism' <--- *ami* 'I' (pronoun)+ -*tto*;

choṭotto 'smallness, narrowness' <--- *choṭo* 'small' + -*tto*;

purušotto 'manliness' <--- *puruš* 'male person' + -*tto*;

boṛotto 'greatness, bigness' <--- *boṛo* 'great, big' + -*tto*;

Sec 3.4

-*mɔy* 'full of, throughout'

(-*mmɔy* also sometimes occurs optionally
with certain stems, e.g.
jɔlomɔy, *jɔlommɔy* 'full of water'
(<--- *jɔl(o)* + *-mɔy*, *-mmɔy*))

anondomɔy 'full of pleasure'
<--- *anondo* 'pleasure' + -*mɔy*;

dhumomɔy 'full of smoke'
<--- *dhum(o)* 'smoke' + -*mɔy*;

papomɔy 'full of sin'
<--- *pap(o)* 'sin' + -*mɔy*;

mulukmɔy 'throughout the world'
<--- *muluk* 'the world' + -*mɔy*;

hironnomɔy
<--- *hironno* 'gold' + -*mɔy*;

Sec 3.5

-matro 'exclusivity'

a) after nominals to form adverbials

ækmatro 'only' <--- æk 'one' + -matro;

khɔnomatro 'for a moment only'
<--- khɔn(o) 'moment' + -matro;

b) after nominals to form nominals

kagoj̣matro 'paper and anything worthy of that name'
<--- kagoj̣ + -matro;

ṭebilmatro 'table and anything worthy of that name'
<--- ṭebil 'table' + -matro;

c) after verbal nouns to form adverbials

j̣awamatro 'immediately on going'
<--- j̣awa (<--- √j̣a + -a) + -matro;

dækhamatro 'immediately on seeing'
<--- dækha (<---√dekh + -a) + -matro;

Sec 3.6

-*sɔho*^{1} ~ -*suddho*

ami-šɔho ~ -*šuddho* 'including me'

<--- *ami* 'I' + ;

ṭebil-šɔho ~-šuddho 'including a table

<--- *ṭebil* + ;

3.0 *Secondary Suffixes*

Multi-operational

Sec 3.7

-alo, *-al*

a) adjectival -*alo*

joralo 'strong, forcible'

<--- *jor* 'strength' + -*alo*;

jhã̆jalo 'pungent, ardent'

<--- *jhã̆jh* + -*alo*;

dharalo 'sharp'

<--- *dhar* 'edge' + -*alo*;

šã̆šalo 'full of pulp or kernel, solvent'

<--- šã̆š + -*alo*

b) agentive -*al*

laṭhial 'one who fights with the baton'

<--- *laṭhi* 'baton, staff' + -*al*

-*i*, -*io*

a) -*i* 'adjectival' after place names

udipuri 'one that belongs to Udipur (Udaypur)'

<--- *udipur* + -*i*;

Kašmiri 'one that belongs to Kashmir'

<--- *Kašmir* + -*i*;

koṭki 'one that belongs to Cuttuck'

<--- *koṭok* + -*i*;

paṭnai 'one that belongs to Patna'

<--- *paṭna* + -*i*;

bilati 'one that belongs to England'

<--- *bilat* 'foreign' (---> England)'

behari 'one that belongs to Bihar'

<--- *bihar*, *behar* + -*i*;

Sec 3.8

b) -*io* 'adjectival' after place names, proper names

iuropio 'European'

<--- *iurop* + -*io*;

iŋlɔnḍio 'English'

<--- *iŋlɔnḍ* + -*io*;

khrišṭio 'Christian'

<--- **khrisṭ* <--- *khrisṭo* + -*io*;

bɔŋgio 'Bengali'

<--- **bɔŋg* <--- *bɔŋgo* + -*io*;

bharotio 'Indian'

<--- *bharot* 'India' + -*io*;

marksio 'Marxian'

<--- *marks* + -*io*;

Sec 3.8

c) -_i_, -_io_ substitutable

arbi, _arobio_ 'Arabic'

<--- _arob_ 'Arab' + -_i_, -_io_;

parsi, _pharsi_, _parosio_ 'Persian'

<--- *_paros_, _parosso_ 'Persia' + -_i_, -_io_;

bormi, _bormio_ 'Burmese'

<--- _bɔrma_ 'Burma' + -_i_, -_io_;

mɔharaštri, _mɔharastrio_ 'Maharastrian'

<--- _mɔharastro_ 'Maharastra' + -_i_, -_io_;

maraṭhi, _maraṭhio_ 'id'

<--- _maraṭha_ + -_i_, -_io_

Sec 3.9

-o(i) ~ -i ~ -e   forming ordinal numerals denoting dates of calendar

-o ~ -oi for fifth through tenth

-i for eleventh through eighteenth, and

-e for nineteenth onwards.

In all cases, suffixes are optionally added or dropped.

pãšo, pãcoi 'fifth'

<--- pãc 'five' + -o, -oi;

dɔšo, dɔšoi 'tenth'

<--- dɔs 'ten' + -o, oi;

ægaroi 'eleventh'

<--- ægaro 'eleven' + -i;

aṭharoi 'eighteenth'

<--- aṭharo 'eighteen' + -i;

uniše 'nineteenth'

<--- uniš 'nineteen' + -e;

biše 'twentieth'

<--- biš 'twenty' + -e;

Sec 3.10

-kɔra 'per' after numerals, weights and measures

mon-kɔra 'per mound (82 lbs.)'

<--- mon 'mound' + -kɔra

šer-kɔra 'per seer (2 lbs.)'

<--- šer + -kɔra

šɔt-kɔra 'per cent'

<--- šɔt 'hundred' + -kɔra

Sec 3.11

-khan^1 ~ -khana ~ -khani 'definite article' after inanimate objects

kagojkhan, -khana, -khani 'the paper'

<--- kagoj + ;

kɔlomkhan, -khana, -khani 'the pen'

<--- kɔlom + ;

Sec 3.12

-*khan*^{2} 'denoting place'

after non-personal pronominal stems

(-*khan* generally occurs with -*e*, a locative case-suffix, the resultant form is -*khane*)

ekhan 'here' <--- *e* 'this' + -*khan*;

konkhan 'where' <--- *kon* 'which' + -*khan*;

jekhan 'where' <--- *je* + -*khan*;

šekhan 'there (unseen)' <--- *še* + -*khan*;

Sec 3.13

-*khon* 'denoting time'

after non-personal pronominal stems

ækhon 'now' <--- *e* (<--- *æ*) + -*khon*;

kɔkhon 'when' <--- **kɔ* (cf. *kɔ* of *kɔbe*, *ko* of *kotha(y)* + -*khon*;

jɔkhon 'when' <--- *jɔ* (cf. *je* of *jekan*, *jetha(y)* + -*khon*;

tɔkhon 'then' <--- *tɔ* (cf. *tɔ* of *tɔbe*) + -*khon*

Sec 3.14

-*khor* (<--- √*kha* +)

'eater, addicted to, habituated to'

aphiŋkhor 'opium-eater; addicted to opium'

<--- *aphiŋ* 'opium' + -*khor*;

gãjakhor 'addicted to hemp'

<--- *gãja* 'Indian hemp' + -*khor*;

cɔroškhor 'addicted to charas (a sort of hemp)'

<--- *cɔroš* + -*khor*;

tamakkhor 'smoker; addicted to tobacco'

<--- *tamak* 'tobacco' + -*khor*;

biṛikhor 'biṛi-smoker'

<--- *biṛi* 'a kind of small cigar' + -*khor*;

bhatkor 'rice-eater'

<--- *bhat* 'rice' + -*khor*;

sigreṭkhor 'cigarette smoker'

<--- *sigreṭ* 'cigarette' + -*khor*;

Sec 3.15

-gach, -gacha, -gachi

after numerals, inanimate objects having
slim shape

a) numerals

ækgach, *ækgacha*, *ækgachi* 'one'

<--- *æk* + ;

dugach, *dugacha*, *dugachi* 'two'

<--- *du* + ;

b) inanimate objects having slim shape

akhgach, *-gacha*, -*gachi* 'sugar-cane'

<--- *akh* + ;

kɔlomgach, -*gacha*, -*gachi* 'pen'

<--- *kɔlom* + ;

Sec 3.16

-*giri* 'denoting profession'

keranigiri 'clerkship'

<--- *kerani* 'clerk' + -*giri*;

gurugiri 'teachership, profession of a spiritual teacher'

<--- *guru* + -*giri*;

cælagiri 'studentship, profession of a pupil or assistant under a *guru*'

<--- *cæla* + -*giri*;

darogagiri 'profession of a police-officer'

<--- *daroga* + -*giri*;

babugiri 'a fashionable cult of gentlemen of a high social class; foppery'

<--- *babu* 'a gentleman' + -*giri*;

mašṭarigiri 'profession of a teacher'

<--- *mašṭar* + -*i* + -*giri*;

Sec 3.17

-jon 'classifier for stems denoting man'

after numerals

ækjon 'one' <--- æk + -jon;

dujon 'two' <--- du + -jon;

Sec 3.18

-tɔro

after pronominal adverbial stems

æmontɔro 'such' <--- æmon + -tɔro;

kæmontɔro 'of what sort' <--- kæmon + -tɔro;

jæmontɔro 'such, of that sort' <--- jæmon + -tɔro;

Sec 3.19

-*to*^{1} ~ -*tuto*

after kinship term

-*to* with polysyllabic (here all disyllabic) stems

-*tuto* with monosyllabic stems

cacato 'born of a junior paternal uncle'

<--- *caca* 'junior paternal uncle' + -*to*^{1};

jæṭhato, *jeṭhtuto* 'born of a senior paternal uncle'

<--- *jæṭha, *jeṭh* + -*to*^{1}, -*tuto*;

pišato, *pištuto* 'born of a father's sister'

<--- *piša*, **piš* + -*to*^{1}, -*tuto*;

mamato 'born of a maternal uncle'

<--- *mama* + -*to*^{1};

mašato, *maštuto* 'born of a mother's sister'

<--- **masa*, **mas* (cf. *masi*) + -*to*^{1}, -*tuto*;

Sec 3.20

-to^2 'denoting quantity'

after non-personal pronominal stems

æto 'this much' <--- æ (<--- e) + -to^2;

kɔto 'how much' <--- kɔ + -to^2;

tɔto 'that much' <--- tɔ + -to^2;

Sec 3.21

-tha

after non-personal pronominal stems (generally -thay (<--- -tha + -y, a locative case-suffix) is used)

kotha, kothay

jetha, jethay (in Sa.)

šetha, šethay (in Sa.)

hetha, hethay (in Sa.)

Sec 3.22

-*dan*, -*dani* 'receptacle'

atordan(i) 'vessel or stand for otto or attar'

<--- *ator* 'perfume' + ;

ca-dan(i) 'a receptacle for tea'

<--- *ca* 'tea' + ;

chaidan(i) 'ash tray'

<--- *chai* 'ash' + ;

phuldan(i) 'flower vase'

<--- *phul* 'flower' + ;

Sec 3.23

-*pɔna* 'attributiveness'

ginnipɔna 'housewifery'

<--- *ginni* 'wife, housewife' + -*pɔna*;

gunopɔna 'accomplishment'

<--- *gun(o)* 'quality, virtue' + -*pɔna*;

durontopɔna 'naughtiness'

<--- *duronto* 'naughty, unruly' + -*pɔna*;

šotipɔna 'pose of chastity'

<--- 'chaste or virtuous wife' + -*pɔna*;

Sec 3.24

-pana, -para, -mɔto

-para is used only in poetic Bengali

-pana and -mɔto are optionally substitutable for each other. In some cases, -ṭe is also substitutable for both of them. But -ṭe is used only with a small number of items, and consequently it is placed in the listed category. Also cf. -gocher, Paragraph 25, Sec 3.1.

a) -pana, -para, -mɔto, -ṭe are mutually substitutable:

khæpapana, khæpapara, khæpamɔto, khæpaṭe
'seemingly mad, foolish'
<--- khæpa 'mad' + ;

rogapana, rogapara, rogamɔto, rogaṭe
'seemingly weak, feeble'
<--- roga 'weak' + ;

lɔmbapana, lɔmbapara, lɔmbamɔto, lɔmbaṭe
'seemingly tall'
<--- lɔmba 'tall' + ;

Sec 3.24

b) -pana, -para, -mɔto (im modern poetic Bengali) are mutually substitutable:

jɔlpana, jɔlpara, jɔlmɔto 'water-like'

<--- jɔl 'water' + ;

cãdpana, cãdpara, cãdmɔto 'moon-like'

<--- cãd 'the moon' + ;

c) Substitutable -pana, -mɔto

(It should be noted here that -mɔto occurs only with the adjectival stems in SCB; in this respect, -pana and -mɔto are always mutually substitutable) e.g.

choṭomɔto, choṭpana 'like something small'

<--- choṭo + ;

bɔṛomɔto, bɔṛopana 'like something big'

<--- bɔṛo + ;

Sec 3.25

-*be* 'denoting date, time'

after non-personal pronominal stems

ebe (in poetic Bengali) 'now, so'

<--- *e* + -*be*;

kɔbe 'when'

<--- **kɔ* (cf. *ki*; *kæ* of *kæmon*; *kon*; *ko*
of *kotha(y)* + -*be*;

jɔbe 'when, while'

<--- **jɔ* (cf. *jɔ* of *jɔkhon*) + -*be*;

tɔbe 'then, so'

<--- **tɔ* (cf. *tɔ* of *tɔkhon*) + -*be*

Sec 3.26

-*mɔto* 'like'

See -*pana*, -*para*, -*mɔto*

Sec 3.27

-mi, -mo 'attributiveness'

chelemi, chelemo 'childishness'

<--- chele 'child, male child' + -mi, -mo;

jæṭhami, jæṭhamo 'precocity'

<--- jæṭha '(lit. father's elder brother), precocious' + -mi, -mo;

dusṭumi, dusṭumo 'wickedness'

<--- dusṭu 'wicked, naughty' + -mi, -mo;

bokami, bokamo 'foolishness'

<--- boka 'foolish' + -mi, -mo;

Sec 3.28

-mon 'denoting manner'

after personal, non-personal pronominal stems

æmon 'such, in this manner'

<--- æ + -mon;

jæmon 'that manner'

<--- jæ (cf. je of jetha(y) + -mon;

tæmon 'that manner (unseen)'

<--- t̃æ (cf. tɔ of tɔkhon, tɔbe) + -mon;

Sec 3.29

-*sɔho*^{2}

aghat-šɔho 'shock-resistant' <--- *aghat* + -*sɔho*;

tap-šɔho 'heat-resistant <--- *tap* + -*sɔho*;

Sec 3.30

-*soi* 'up to, -able'

(This suffix also occurs with the nominalised verbs.)

gɔlašoi 'up to the point of neck'

<--- *gɔla* 'neck' + -*šoi*;

ṭækšoi 'lasting'

<--- √*ṭik*, *ṭæk* 'to last' + *Ø* + -*šoi*;

dɔšašoi 'very tall and stout'

<--- *dɔša* 'state' + -*šoi*;

pɔchondošoi 'approved; of choice'

<--- *pɔchondo* 'choice' + -*šoi*;

mananšoi 'sell-matched'

<--- *manan* 'fitting, match, matching' + -*šoi*;

3.0 Secondary Suffixes

Listed Items

Sec 3.31

-a

cala 'a shed'

<--- cal 'roof' + -a;

jɔla 'watery, swampy'

<--- jɔl 'water' + -a;

pata 'leaf'

<--- pat 'leaf' + -a;

bagha 'tiger-like'

<--- bagh 'tiger' + -a;

bhata 'allowance'

<--- bhat 'cooked rice, main food' + -a;

roga 'weak'

<--- rog 'illness' + -a

Sec 3.32

-*ani*, -*ana*

babuani, *-ana* 'a gentleman's fashion of a high social class'

<--- *babu* + -*ani*, -*ana*;

bibiana, *-ani* 'Angicised manners of a lady'

<--- *bibi* 'fashionable lady; Muslim or European lady' + -*ani*, -*ana*;

munšiana, -*ani* 'penmanship'

<--- *munši* 'penman, secretary' + -*ani*, -*ana*;

hinduani, -*ana* 'custom of an orthodox Hindu'

<--- *hindu* + -*ani*, -*ana*

Sec 3.33

-ali (~ *-li*)

-li with the stem having final *-e*, elsewhere

-ali

grihosthali, *gerosthali* 'household affairs'
<--- *grihostho*, *gerostho* 'householder' + *-ali*;

ghɔṭkali 'matchmaking'
<--- *ghɔṭok* 'matchmaker, go-between' + *-ali*;

coturali 'shrewdness'
<--- *cotur* 'clever' + *-ali*;

ṭhakurali 'mastership'
<--- *ṭhakur* 'lord, master' + *-ali*;

puruṣali 'mannishness'
<--- *puruṣ* 'man, male' + *-ali*;

meeli 'feminine, womanish'
<--- *mee* 'woman, feminine, girl' + *-li*

Sec 3.34

-*ioti*

jojioti 'judgeship' <--- *jɔj* 'judge' + -*ioti*

(The Daily Basumoti once analogically constructed *laṭioti* (<--- *laṭ* '(<--- lord; meaning governor) + -*ioti*) 'governorship', obviously to make fun.)

Sec 3.35

-*oan*

kocoan 'coachman'
<--- *koc* 'coach' + -*oan*;
gaṛoan 'waggoner, carter'
<--- **gaṛ* (*gari* 'cart, car') + -*oan*

Sec 3.36

-*on*

dãton 'fibrous twig used as a tooth-brush'
<--- *dãt* 'tooth' + -*on*

Sec. 3.37

-ol

dighol 'long'

<--- *digh (<--- dīrgha) 'long' + -ol

hatol 'handle'

<--- hat 'hand' + -ol

Sec 3.38

-u 'pleonastic'

agu 'front'

<--- *ag 'front' + -u;

ũcu 'high'

<--- *uc (cf. ũc-kɔpale) + -u;

ḍhalu 'slope'

<--- ḍhal 'slope' + -u;

nicu 'below, low'

<--- nic 'low' + -u;

pichu 'behind, rear'

<--- *pich (cf. pichon, pech-kanda, etc). + -u

Sec. 3.39

-*uk*

peṭuk 'greedy'

<--- *peṭ* 'belly' + -*uk*;

mitthuk 'liar'

<--- **mitth* (cf. *mittha*, *mitthe*) + -*uk*;

lajuk 'shy'

<--- *laj* 'shyness, bashfulness' + -*uk*;

hiŋšuk 'revengeful'

<--- **hiŋš* (cf. *hiŋša*, *hiŋše*) + -*uk*

Sec. 3.40

-*khana* 'denoting place'

jelkhana 'jail'

<--- *jel* 'jail' + -*khana*;

ḍaktarkhana 'dispensary'

<--- *ḍaktar* 'doctor, physician' + -*khana*;

šoraikhana 'inn'

<--- *šorai* 'inn' + -*khana*

Sec. 3.41

-ca, ~ -ci, ~ -ce: in Sa. -ca after -i, -ci elsewhere; in Ch. -ce after -C, -ci elsewhere

ghamaci 'prickly-heat'

<--- gham 'sweat' + -ci;

dhunuci (Sa. dhunaci; also dhupaci, dhupoci) 'incense-pot'

<--- dhuno, dhup(o) 'incense' + -ci;

nolce (Sa. nolica) 'long tube or pipe of a hooka or smoking apparatus'

<--- nɔl 'pipe' + -ce;

bæŋaci 'tadpole'

<--- bæŋ(a) 'frog, toad' + -ci

Sec 3.42

-ṭe 'likeness; slightness'

khæpaṭe 'slightly mad'

<--- *khæpa* 'mad' + *-ṭe*;

gholaṭe 'slightly turbid, dark'

<--- *ghola* 'turbid, muddy' + *-ṭe*;

tamaṭe 'copperish'

<--- *tama* 'copper' + *-ṭe*;

paglaṭe 'slightly crazy'

<--- *pagla* 'crazy' + *-ṭe*;

rogaṭe 'rather weak'

<--- *roga* 'weak' + *-ṭe*;

lɔmbaṭe 'rather tall'

<--- *lɔmba* 'tall' + *-ṭe*

Sec 3.43

-*ta*

namta 'multiplication table'

<--- *nam* 'name' + -*ta*;

nonta 'salty'

<--- *nun* 'salt' + -*ta*;

šɔtota 'sincerely'

<--- *šɔt* (here *sɔto*) 'sincere' + -*ta*

Sec 3.44

-*nobis*

šikkha-nobiš 'apprenticeship'

<--- *šikkha* 'education' + -*nobiš*

Sec 3.45

-dar

curidar 'frilled'

<--- curi 'a sort of frill of dress' + -dar;

choṛidar 'a guide for pilgrims'

<--- choṛi 'stick' + -dar;

phuldar 'embroidered'

<--- phul 'flower' + -dar;

bæbšadar 'merchant, trader'

<--- bæbša 'trade, business' + -dar;

mɔjadar 'funny, amusing'

<--- mɔja 'a fun' + -dar

Sec 3.46

-ndaj

golondaj 'gunner, cannoneer'

<--- *golo <--- gola 'cannon-ball' + -ndaj;

tirondaj 'archer'

<--- tir(o) 'arrow' + -ndaj

Sec 3.47

-baj

calbaj 'trickster'

<--- cal 'trick' + -baj;

dhappabaj 'bluffer'

<--- dhappa 'bluff' + -baj;

phãkibaj 'deceitful'

<--- phãki 'deceit' + -baj;

phondibaj 'plotter'

<--- phondi 'plot, artifice' + -baj;

mamlabaj 'litigant'

<--- mamla 'legal suit, litigation' + -baj

Sec 3.48

-mɔnto, -bɔnto

a) -mɔnto (-monto) 'obligatory'

akkelmɔnto 'reasonable'

<--- akkel 'sense, wisdom' + -mɔnto ~ -monto;

buddhimɔnto 'intelligent'

<--- buddhi 'intelligence' + -mɔnto ~ -monto;

pɔymɔnto 'lucky, fortunate'

<--- pɔy 'fortune' + -mɔnto ~ -monto;

srimɔnto 'lovely, fortunate'

<--- sri 'prosperity, beauty' + -mɔnto ~ monto

b) -bɔnto 'obligatory'

gunobɔnto 'virtuous'

<--- gun(o) 'virtue' + -bɔnto

c) -mɔnto ~ -bɔnto as optional alternants

bhaggomɔnto, -bɔnto 'lucky, fortunate'

<--- bhaggo 'luck' + ;

lokkhimɔnto, -bɔnto 'fortunate'

<--- lokkhi 'wealth' + ;

Sec 3.49

-*man*

dinoman 'day-time'

<--- *din*, **dino* 'day' + -*man*

ratriman 'night-time'

<--- *ratri* 'night' + -*man*

is used in dialects

Sec 3.50

-*ri*

a) denoting kinds

gãṭri 'bundle'

<--- *gãt* 'knot, bale' + -*ri*;

majhari 'medium-sized'

<--- *majh(-a)* 'medium' + -*ri*

b) denoting profession

kãšari 'coppersmith'

<--- *kãša* 'bell-metal' + -*ri*;

juari, *juori* 'gambler'

<--- *jua*, *juo* 'gamble' + -*ri*;

bhikhari 'beggar'

<--- *bhikh(-a)* 'begging' + -*ri*;

šãkhari 'shell-cutter'

<--- *šãkha* 'bangle made of shell' + -*ri*

Sec 3.51

-*la*

adhla 'half-price'

<--- *adh* 'half' + -*la*;

ækla 'alone'

<--- *æk* 'one' + -*la*;

chadla, *chẵdla* 'like roof' as in *chẵdla-tola*, *chẵdla-tɔla* 'a particular kind of wedding pandal'

<--- *chad* 'roof' (the nasalisation in the vowel is not easily analysable) + -*la*;

patla 'thin'

<--- *pat* (*pata* 'leaf') + -*la*;

megla 'cloudy'

<--- *megh* 'cloud' + -*la*

3.0 Secondary Suffixes

Sanskrit

Sanskrit secondary affixes and words that are used as bound morphs in Bengali are included in this section.

Sec 3.52

-ito

kɔlɔŋkito 'spotted, defamed'

<--- kɔlɔŋgh(o) 'spot, scandal' + -ito;

khudhito 'hungry'

<--- khudh(a) 'hunger' + -ito;

pulokito 'delighted'

<--- pulok 'delight, ecstasy' + -ito;

pušpito 'blooming'

<--- pušp(o) 'blossom' + -ito;

murchito 'fainted'

<--- murch(a) 'faint' + -ito

Sec 3.53

-il

joṭil 'complex'

<--- jɔṭ 'clotted hair, fibrous root' + -il;

poŋkil 'muddy'

<--- pɔŋk(o) 'mud' + -il;

phenil 'foamy, frothy'

<--- phæn(a) 'foam, froth' + -il

Sec 3.54

-*isṭho*

gorišṭho 'majority'

<--- **gor* (*guru*) 'major' + -*išṭho*

loghišṭho 'minority'

<--- *logh(u)* 'minor' + -*išṭho*;

Sec 3.55

-*jo*

ɔgrojo 'elder brother'

<--- *ɔgro* 'anterior, before' + -*jo*;

ɔntojo 'depressed'

<--- *ɔnto* (*antya* 'base, low') + -*jo*;

dešojo 'native, country-born, -made'

<--- *des(o)* 'country' + -*jo*

Sec 3.56

-*tɔro*, -*tɔmo*:

-*tɔro* for comparative degree;

-*tɔmo* for superlative degree

gurutɔro 'heavier'; *gurutɔmo* 'heaviest'

<--- *guru* 'heavy' + -*tɔro*, -*tɔmo*;

loghutɔro 'lighter'; *loghutɔmo* 'lightest'

<--- *loghu* 'light (weight, etc)' + -*tɔro*, -*tɔmo*;

Sec 3.57

-*ta*

dhurtota 'shrewdness'

<--- *dhurto* 'shrewd' + -*ta*;

bondhuta 'friendship'

<--- *bondhu* 'friend' + -*ta*;

šadhuta 'sincerity'

<--- *šadhu* 'sage' + -*ta*;

Sec 3.58

-to

ɔntoto 'at least'

<--- ɔnto (antah) 'end' + -to;

bostuto 'really, in reality'

<--- bostu 'reality' + -to;

dhɔrmoto 'for religions sake, virtuously'

<--- dhɔrmo 'religion, virtue' + -to;

šɔrboto 'entirely'

<--- šɔrbo 'all, entirety' + -to;

Sec 3.59

-bɔt^{1} 'like'

ãtto-bɔt 'like self'

<--- ãtto 'self' + -bɔt^{1};

jɔlobɔt 'like water'

<--- jɔl(o) 'water' + -bɔt^{1};

pitribɔt 'like father'

<--- pitri 'father' + -bɔt^{1};

matribɔt 'like mother'

<--- matri 'mother' + -bɔt^{1};

Sec 3.60

-*bɔt*^{2} (~ -*ɔt*, -*ot*) 'quantitative'

(-*ɔt*, -*ot* after morph with final -*m*)

etabɔt 'until this time'

<--- *eta* (*etad*) + -*bɔt*^{2};

kiɔt, *kiot* 'some, a little'

(as in *kiɔt-poriman*)

<--- *ki* (<--- *kim*) + -*ɔt*, -*ot* (-*bɔt*^{2});

tabɔt

<--- *ta* (<--- *tad*) + -*bɔt*^{2};

jabɔt

<--- *ja* (<--- *yad*) + -*bɔt*^{2};

Sec 3.61

-*mɔt* (~ -*man* ~ -*moti*; -*ban* ~ -*boti*)

There is only one instance with -*mɔt*, e.g. *srimɔt* (<--- *sri* + -*mɔt*) 'the most bereaved one, reverend'. According to the Sanskrit rule, -*ban* ~ -*boti* occurs with the morph having final -*a*, -*ā* and final plosives (in Sanskritic sense, i.e. K series, C series, ṭ series, t series, p series: these twenty-five phonemes); it also occurs with a single morph, viz *lokkhi* (<--- *lakṣmi*); and -*man* ~ -*moti* occurs elsewhere. -*man*, -*ban* are masculine, while -*moti*, -*boti* are feminine. However, Bengali -*mɔnto* ~ -*bɔnto* commonly replaces these four Skt. morphs, rejecting the difference of gender, but vaguely retaining some phonological complimentation of the Skt. order. (See -*mɔto*, -*bɔnto* in *Secondary Suffixes*, Listed Items).

Sec 3.61

-*man* ~ -*moti*; -*ban* ~ -*boti*

gæ̃noban, -*boti* 'scholar, wise'

<--- *gæ̃n(o)* (*jnāna*) 'knowledge' + -*ban*, -*boti*;

gunoban, -*boti* 'virtuous, qualified'

<--- *gun(o)* (*guṇa*) 'quality, virtue' + -*ban* -*boti*;

buddhiman, -*moti* 'intelligent'

<--- *buddhi* 'intelligence' + -*man*, -*moti*;

lokkhiban, -*boti* 'fortunate'

<--- *lokkhi* (<--- *lakṣmī*) 'goddess of learning, discipline' + -*ban*, -*boti*;

sriman, -*moti* '(lit. fortunate) = Mr., Miss, Mrs.'

<--- *sri* (*śri*) 'beauty' + -*man*, -*moti*

Sec 3.62

-šat

(optional -ssat after stems having final vowels)

ãttošat, ãttoššat 'misappropriation; grabbed'

<--- ãtto 'self' + -šat, -ššat;

udoršat 'appropriation; eaten up'

<--- udor 'belly' + -šat;

dhulišat, dhuliššat 'destroy; reduced to dust, destroyed'

<--- dhuli 'dust' + -šat, -ššat;

Sec 3.63

-šo (Skt. śɔh)

kromošo 'gradually'

<--- krɔm 'sequence' + -šo;

prayošo 'often'

<--- *pray (pray(o)) 'often' + -šo;

bohušo 'many times, in great measure'

<--- bohu (<--- bahu) 'many' + -šo;

Literary and Colloquial Bengali

There are at least two distinct forms of the Bengali language, the sādhu - bhāṣā (literary language, hereafter SB) and the calit - bhāṣā (the colloquial language, hereafter CB). This condition of having two different forms of a language, with the distinction between them relating to prestige or other extra-linguistic values, is not an unfamiliar one. Bloomfield mentions it in his description of language community.

Though SB and the CB are at the two opposite poles of the same language, it is clear that descriptively there is an infinite number of points between them. Many of these points are occupied by individual writers whose work represents the state of the language at some phase in the history of the movement of the two poles toward each other. If one could graph the accepted norms of the SB and CB over the last century, I suspect the graph would show a truncated pyramid. Starting from the two extremes, the lines would show a gradual merging. The graph, however, is incomplete. The apex of the pyramid, the identity of the SB and

CB, lies somewhere in the future. It is clear that over the last century the two extremes have been moving more and more toward the center.

Descriptively, the differences between the SB and CB forms of the language can be summarized under four general categories: lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic.

Lexical distinctions

On the basis of a word list devised by Professor Gordon H. Fairbanks, it was found that, of 511 items counted, 39.5 per cent have correspondence (i.e., that the item is identical for CB or SB), and 5.4 per cent can be used optionally in either CB or SB (i.e., for a given English gloss there are two Bengali meanings, one differing from CB to SB, the other corresponding). Therefore, 55.1 per cent of the lexical items counted always have differing forms in CB and SB. It is, however, probable that these figures are descriptively less than accurate. When the forms were elicited, I had in mind a definition of the breadth of the distinction between CB and SB rather than description of the actual current situation. In all likelihood, these figures represent the point at which CB and SB are farthest apart, the point which might have been descriptively accurate 75 or 100 years ago. Since I was aiming at contrasting forms, it is more than possible that my informant has given obscure SB forms, forms which are possible but used only rarely, in places where in present-day writing a CB form might more ordinarily be used. Thus the category of optional forms would probably be far greater than the present figures indicate; indeed, this would be reflected by Tagore's statement that the actual lexical differences between SB and CB are diminishing. It might even be said that to a large extent in modern writing a choice between a CB and an SB form is stylistic rather than categorical, and would depend on whether the subject matter was heavy or light and on the author's choice of treatment of it.

A few examples of CB-SB lexical differences are the following:

SB form	CB form	gloss
hɔŋšo	hãš	goose
brikkho	gač	tree
putro	čhele	son

SB form	CB form	gloss
našika	nak	nose
tɔpto	gɔrom	hot
dɔŋšɔn kɔra	kamṛano	(to) bite
agɔmɔn kɔra	aša	(to) come
dan kɔra	deoa	(to) give
brisṭi hɔoa	jɔl hɔoa	(to) rain
ɔpekkha kɔra	daṛano	(to) wait for

It is to be noted that certain of the items above, such as the first and fourth, seem to show a relationship between SB and CB forms. About 18.5 per cent of the total number of forms show such a relationship. The historical relationship between, for example, /hɔŋšo/ and /hãš/ is that /hãš/ represents a normal development of the Sanskrit *haṃsa* through the Prakrits, while the SB form /hɔŋšo/ represents a re-borrowing by Bengali from the Sanskrit. This is by no means an unusual linguistic phenomenon; grammarians call the direct, popular descendant form *tadbhāva* and the learned borrowing *tatsama*. The large number of CB-SB correspondences of this type in Bengali could, I think, be described in a very few statements.

Phonological distinctions

As the SB is not a spoken language, phonological differences between it and the CB are not significant. Even so, it is interesting to notice that there are people who will pronounce SB differently from their ordinary speech when reading an SB text aloud. The most frequent and noticeable phonetic differences are in terms of consonant clusters. For example:

SB form	CB form	gloss
lɔksmi	lokkhi	Laksmi
smɔrɔn	šʊrɔn	memory

If a general statement were to be made, it might be said that the SB phonologically is closer to the orthography than is the CB. For example, as S.K. Chatterji indicates in the introduction to his Bengali Reader, what is sometimes called the "short a" vowel (phonetically), is, under certain circumstances in the CB, phonetically [o]. In SB pronunciation this vowel tends to remain [ɔ]. There are many other cases of this kind. Orthographically there are three sibilants, dental, palatal and retroflex, which some people attempt to differentiate when reading SB.

Phonemically in the CB there is only one sibilant. Further, there are symbols for both dental and retroflex nasals, which some people attempt to differentiate; phonemically there is only one dental. There are several symbols for the velar nasal. The -Cy- custer is phonemically -CC-, etc. This is an area of the study to which my knowledge has not yet been adequately described.

Morphological distinctions

Although lexical items represent the major difference between the SB and the CB, significant differences occur on the morphological level. These morphological differences are primarily in verb forms and in certain noun endings. Both of these types of morphological differences can be demonstrated by a translation of the simple expression "He has given (it) to us";

SB /amadigɔke dan kɔriyache/ :
CB /amader diyeche/

These differences are firm and consistent throughout the language. A SB verb form is never used in a CB environment, and a SB substantive suffix is rarely if ever used in a CB environment. The distinctions can be summarized simply:

a. Verb forms

(Synopsis of 1st person forms for all tenses):

Tense	SB form	CB form
Simple present	čɔli	čoli
Simple past	čɔlilam	čollam
Conditional	čɔlitam	čoltam
Simple future	čɔlibo	čolbo
Pres. continuative	čɔlitechi	čolchi
Past continuative	čɔlitechilam	čolchilam
Present perfect	čɔliyachi	čolechi
Past perfect	čɔliyachilam	čolechilam
Infinitive	čɔlite	čolte
Conjunctive	čɔliya	čole

b. Noun endings

The most striking difference is the form of the animate plural suffix -ra when followed by a case ending: in SB it is -dig(ɔ)- and in CB it is -de-. Thus, using the first person plural pronoun as an example:

Case	SB form	CB form
Nominative	amra	amra
Genitive	amadiger	amader

Case	SB form	CB form
Objective	amadigɔke	amader, amadike, or amaderke

There are differences, also, in the definitives and pluralizing suffixes of nouns.

There are other morphological distinctions. Most distinctions, however, have either disappeared or are disappearing in the blending of SB and CB with each other. For example, people writing in SB today pay little if any attention to such considerations as gender, as the pandits once did. This is also true of compound words. SB was once full of compounds, but it is now usual to eliminate *sandhi*, break down compounds into their component parts, and to treat these component parts as separate entities. It is also generally true that such prefixes as /su-/, /ku-/, /ɔ-/, which indicate quality or negativeness, are rarely found in CB constructions, being considered characteristic of SB.

Syntactic distinctions

It is possible to consider such verbal compounds as /dan kɔra/ and /ɔpekkha kɔra/ as syntactic phenomena. Such compounds occur in far greater number in SB than in CB. Of the 142 verbs in the list mentioned above, 57 forms were compound in both SB and CB; and 13 were simple in both SB and CB. In no instance did CB show a compound verb where the SB verb was simple.

A second generalization might be that word order in SB constructions is more rigid than it is in CB. Almost invariably in SB constructions, the verb form is final in the sentence. In CB, however, shades of meaning and emphasis can be transmitted by varying the word order. These shades of meaning and emphasis are lexical functions in SB. Compare the two versions of the sentence "The two brothers loved each other very much":

SB /ubhɔy bhratar pɔrɔm(ɔ) sɔmpriti chilo/ :

CB /khub bhab chilo du bhaier/.

According to Sen, the initial and final expressions in the CB are the emphatic ones. In the case above, the SB compensates for this by the use of the strong terms /pɔrɔm(ɔ)/ and /sɔmpriti/.

Both SB and CB as they are known today are products of urbanization. Although a form of SB existed before the growth of Calcutta as an extremely Sanskritized Bengali, there was no such thing as CB before the city. The Bengali language then consisted of the SB and the regional dialects. The CB is the language of the educated middle and upper classes of Calcutta.

Probably, it is based upon the growth of the city. For the reasons noted above, SB tended to become less Sanskritized as a result of the cultural change. It moved away from the exclusive possession of the pandits and came into the possession of the new writer class, with their new literary aims. Looking at it in this way, which is perhaps attempting to analyze it more than the situation warrants, since clear lines cannot always be drawn among the various divisions, it might be said that there have been five distinct forms of the language:

(1) The regional dialects, which of course, remain essentially unchanged throughout these various developments.

(2) The CB as it was a century ago, a strictly spoken language.

(3) The CB as it is today, remaining primarily a spoken language, but being used increasingly for literature. As Tagore has pointed out, the CB is gradually taking on more and more SB elements.

(4) The old form of the SB, the *paṇḍiti-bhāṣā*, of which the *Prabodh-candrikā* of Mṛtanjaya is an outstanding example.

(5) The modern-day SB which, influenced by cultural change and by the increasing use of the CB in literature, is far less definable grammatically than it was a century ago.

That there is a striking difference between the *paṇḍiti-bhāṣā* and the SB of a not much later date can be easily shown. Compare for example a passage from the *Prabodh-candrikā*, written in 1813, to lines from Bankim-candra Caṭṭopādhyāy's *Rajsiṁha* (1878):

Prabodh-candrikā

akārādi kṣakārāntakṣaramālā yadyapi pañcāśat
saṃkhyakā kimba ekapañcāśat kimba saptápañcāśat
saṃkhyā parimitā hauk tathāpi etābanmātra katipaya
varnāvalīvinyāsviśeṣavasatah vaidik alukik saṃskṛt
prākṛt paiśācādi aṣṭādaśa bhāsā o nānādeśiya

manuṣya jatīya bhāsāviśeṣavasatah aneka prakāra
bhāṣāvaicitra śāstrato lokataḥ prasiddha āche

Rajsiṁha

eka prācīnā katakaguli citra becite āsiyā
tāhāder hāte paṛiyāchila | hastidantanirmita
phalke likhita kṣudra kṣudra apūrba citraguli|
prācīnā bikrayābhilāṣe eka ekakhāni citra
bastrābaraṇa madhya haite bāhira karitechila|

Bankim-candra's novel was written after the new concepts of prose and the novel had taken hold. But compare this in turn with a paragraph from a modern writer:

amalāke āj dekhte āsbe | pātrer nām aruṇ|
nām śunei amalār bukṭite yeṇa arun ābhā chaṛie
gela | kalpanāy se kata chabi na ākale |
sundara suśrī yubā -- baliṣṭha māthāy ṭeri
gāye pāñjābī -- sundar supuruṣ |

Even on the most superficial levelit can be seen that the movement is toward simplicity and directness. The quotation from Bonaphul's Śreṣṭha galpa is almost pure CB.

Bengali Meter

1. Introduction
2. Moraic Meter:

   Examples 1-33
3. Syllabic and Syllabomoraic Meter:

   Examples 34-57
4. Syllaboaccentual or Stressed Meter

   Examples 58-67
5. Syllaborythmic Meter:

   Examples 68-72

BENGALI METER

1. Introduction. Bengali Verse meter falls into several categories; we will notice a variety of principles behind the organisation of lines, the internal structure of the lines, i.e., the arrangement of the phonological units that integrates the verse. The external structure of a line means that a line may be short or long or of medium size, intersected by several primary pauses, or by none.

The internal principle of the metrical structure is called _rīti_ in Bengali. We will call it metrical type or simply meter. The external structure is called _bandha_ in Bengali. We will call it metrical structure or simply structure. Categories of the former are Syllabo-moraic meter, Stressed meter, and so forth. Categories of the latter are Monosectional structure, Disectional structure, Trisectional structure and so forth. These are indicated by numerals that correspond to the unit values of a line structure. Frequently the sequence of numerals is intersected by pauses (primary = ¦ , secondary = ⋮ , tertiary = i). Thus, a disectional structure of sixteen moras with four equal feet may be indicated in this way: 8 8 or 4 4 4 · 4. These are conventional names in Bengali to indicate a particular meter associated with a particular structure. The most common such name is _payār_, which is a syllabo-moraic meter with a disectional structure (8 8 or 8 6 or 8 10).

2. A short historical introductinn is necessary to indicate the intimate association between metrical and linguistic features. A poet in giving shape to his thought and imagination, uses his language as it is available to him. He tries to reshape his language to fit the poetic form that best represents his own style. As verse is not a natural form of language, he has maximum freedom to choose or reject some linguistic features in his metrical creation. Of the several features present in the language, he selects only those which combine to codify his message in its poetic form. The poet has two things before his eyes: the current available materials, which are primary resources, and the invited materials, which are to be sought in the archaic systems available in his literary tradition, and are secondary resources.

3. Old Bengali had phonemic stress associated with length; there was no length in an unstressed syllable. OB poets did, however, not utilise this stress feature in their meter. On the other hand, they had in their older literary tradition an opposition between short and long

syllables, and they did incorporate this length feature into their meter.

There was a similar phenomenon in late Middle Bengali. LMB lost the stress phomeme. While length feature continued, there emerged a new system that incorporated the already archaic stress feature in its meter.

The Old Bengali or early Middle Bengali meter passed to the succeeding period with some changes that took place because of the natural historical development of the language. And the same meter passed on to the Modern period, incorporating some further phonological changes that took place. In the first two periods, the meter is syllabic, and in the third or last period, it is syllabo-moraic. Meter in all these periods integrates its system by substitution; that is to say, in three consecutive periods the componential units are formed in three different ways but organised to integrate the whole structure of the meter.

4. There is another development in Bengali meter that utilizes present resources but is modelled after a secondary system by the method of substitution. Classical Sanskrit has a meter which is called vṛtta. The basic principle

of this meter is an ordered sequence of syllabic values in a given line. We will call it here Syllaborythmic meter. The opposition between heavy and light syllables in Sanskrit is substituted by the opposition between closed and open syllables in Bengali. This will be described in detail in a later section. It should only be mentioned here that some English and European meters are also transformed into corresponding Bengali mietrs by this same method (Stressed, meters long syllables by closed ones; Unstressed, short syllables by open ones.). This meter which is based upon B primary resources but modelled after a foreign principle may be called a tertiary system in Bengali.

Modern Bengali quantitative meter, developed on the principle of the opposition between closed and open syllables by the substitution method from the earlier OB and MB moraic meter, is not a tertiary system. The modern system, to the contrary, may be viewed as a natural development of earlier systems that experimented with archaic principles. These points will be explained further in the appropriate section.

5. The above survey may be presented in the following scheme:

	OB	EMB	LMB
Primary system		Syllabic (2)	Syllabic (2)
Secondary system	Moraic(1)		Moraic(4) Stressed (5)
Tertiary system			

PB
Syllabo-moraic (1)
Pure maraic (2)

Moraic (3)
Stressed (4)

Syllaborithmic (5)

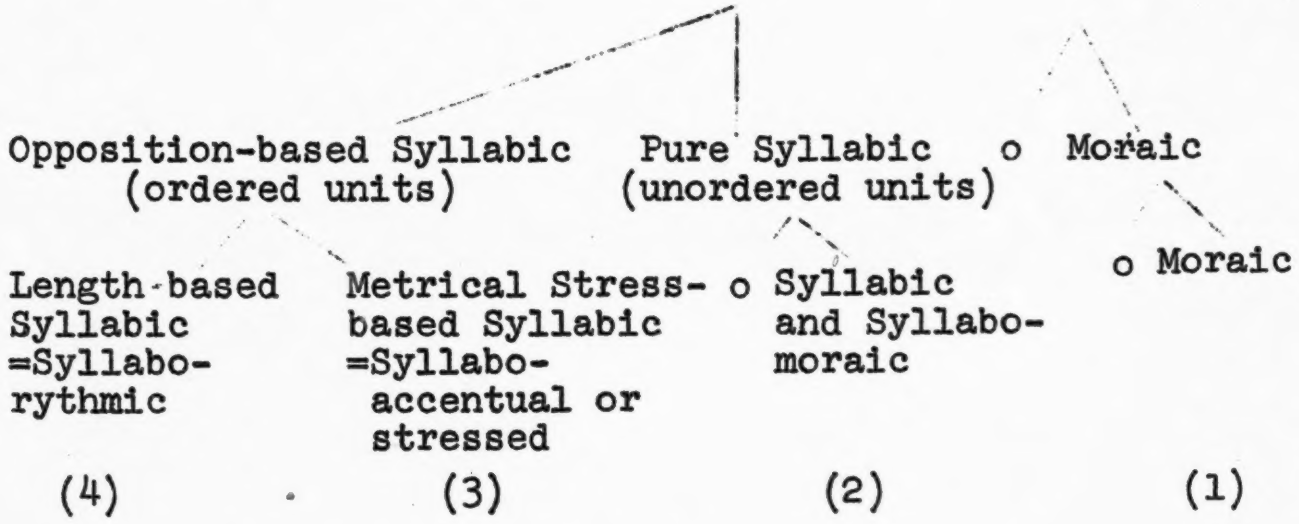
6. Bengali meters of different periods may be grouped, according to their internal principles, into four categories, leaving aside their affiliation to the various resource-based systems outlined above. They are 1) Moraic, 2) Syllabic and Syllabo-moraic, 3) Stressed and 4) Syllabo-rythmic meters.

Considering Bengali meter as a single stem, we have the scheme of a tree binarily bearing four offshoots:

Bengali verse meter
(verse line is a sequence of)

Syllabic or non-Moraic
(syllabic units)

Non-Syllabic or Moraic
(non-syllabic or quantitative units)


Opposition-based Syllabic
(ordered units)
Pure Syllabic
(unordered units)
o Moraic
Length-based Syllabic =Syllabo-rythmic
Metrical Stress-based Syllabic =Syllabo-accentual or stressed
o Syllabic and Syllabo-moraic
o Moraic
(4)
(3)
(2)
(1)

2. Moraic or Quantitive Meter

Bengali moraic meter falls into three varieties: viz. 1) Early Moraic, 2) Tatsama Moraic, and 3) New Moraic.

Early Moraic is an immediate offshoot of its predecessor Prakrit Mātrā Meter. It is closer to Prakrit Meter in the Old period than it is in the Middle period. The Moraic Meter in Bengali that is modelled after Prakrit metrical principles (secondary resource) is always, to some extent, affected by Bengali phonology (primary resource); in the old period this affect is less so, while in the middle period it is very extensive. As a result, there are sub-varieties of Early Moraic, viz. the meter of Caryā songs (900-1200A.D.) and the meter of Vaishnava lyric songs (1400-1800 A.D.).

The second variety of moraic meter is

modelled after the Sanskrit Mātrā meter as it is found in *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva (12th century). It is commonly called Jaydevi Chanda. Some MB Vaishnava songs were written in it; and Bhārat chandra cultivated this meter extensively.

Early and Tatsama Moraic Meters are based on secondary resources, while the third variety, the New Moraic, is developed from within. After many experiments with various forms of Moraic meters available in the nineteenth century, Rabindranath Tagore developed a new principle based on a system easily available in current Bengali.

2.1 The above varieties are based on the following principles:

A. The principle of the Early Moraic meter equals that of the Prakrit Matra meter which has the following rules:

rigid rule

1. Short vowels (a,i,u) of open syllables = 1 mora
2. Long vowels (a:,i:,u:) = 2 moras
3. Short vowels of closed syllables (=s.v. before conjuncts and word-final consonants)=2 moras
4. e,o of closed syllables (=e,o before conjuncts and word-final consonants)= 1 mora

flexible rule

5. Line-rule s.v.general = 2 moras
6. Line-final l.v. generally = 1 mora
7. e,o (considered long vowel) general = 2 moras
   but occasionally = 1 mora

2.2.2 B. The Tatsama principle includes the first three rules (rigid) of the Prakrit Mātrā rules that are mentioned above, with the further inclusion of e,o and diphthongs into the list of Long vowels (rule no. 2)

2.2.3 C. In the new principle there is no opposition between short and long vowels. A new opposition between closed and open syllables is established. The above three rigid rules may thus be reduced to two in the following way:

Rules 1 and 2 All vowels of open syllables = 1 mora

Rule 3 All vowels of closed syllables = 2 moras

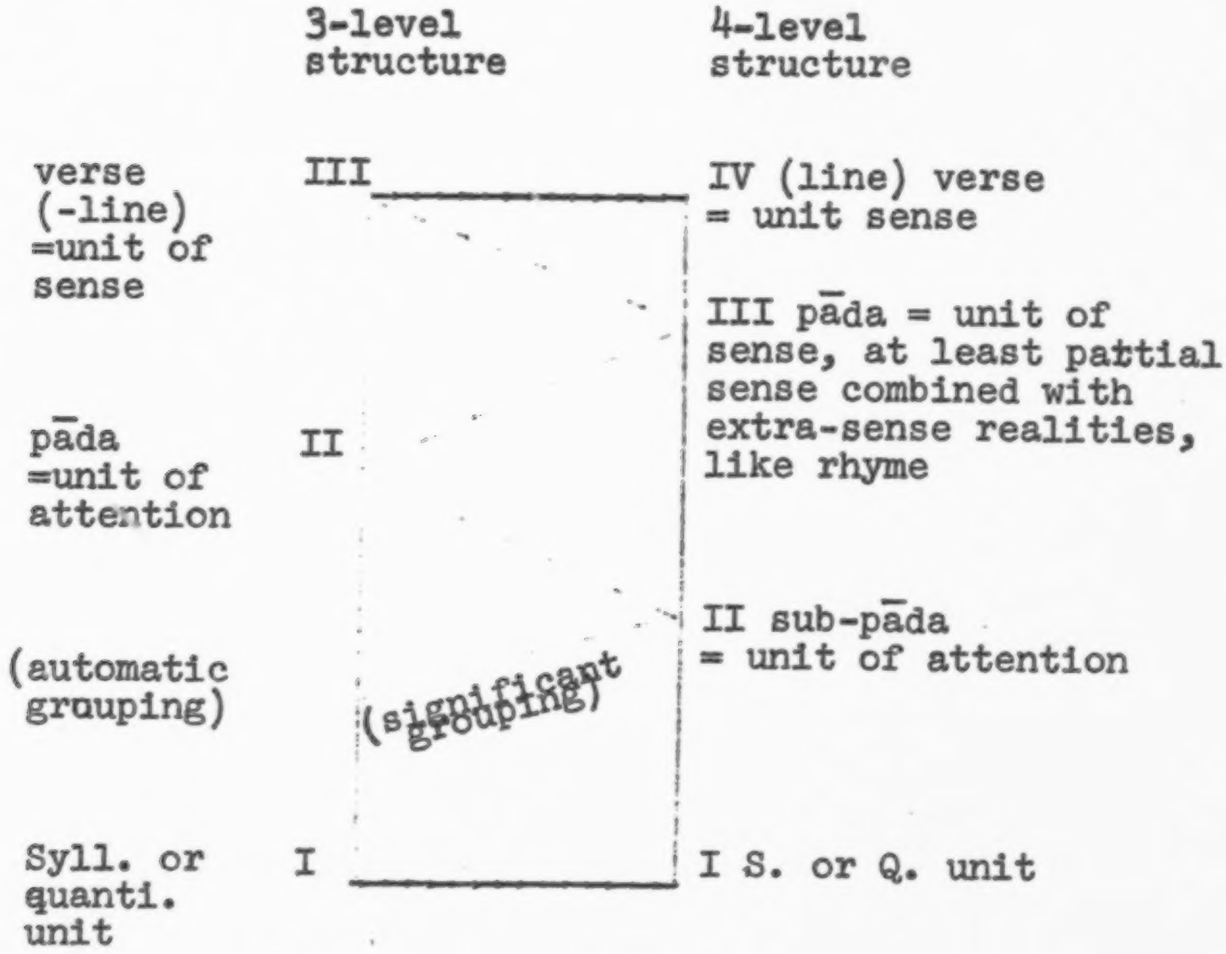
2.3.1 Early Moraic: Meter of the Caryā Songs (= CS meter)

The verse line in Sanskrit and Prakrit has direct impact on at least two meters, viz. CS meter and the early syllabic meter found in

´Srīkṛṣṇakīrtan.

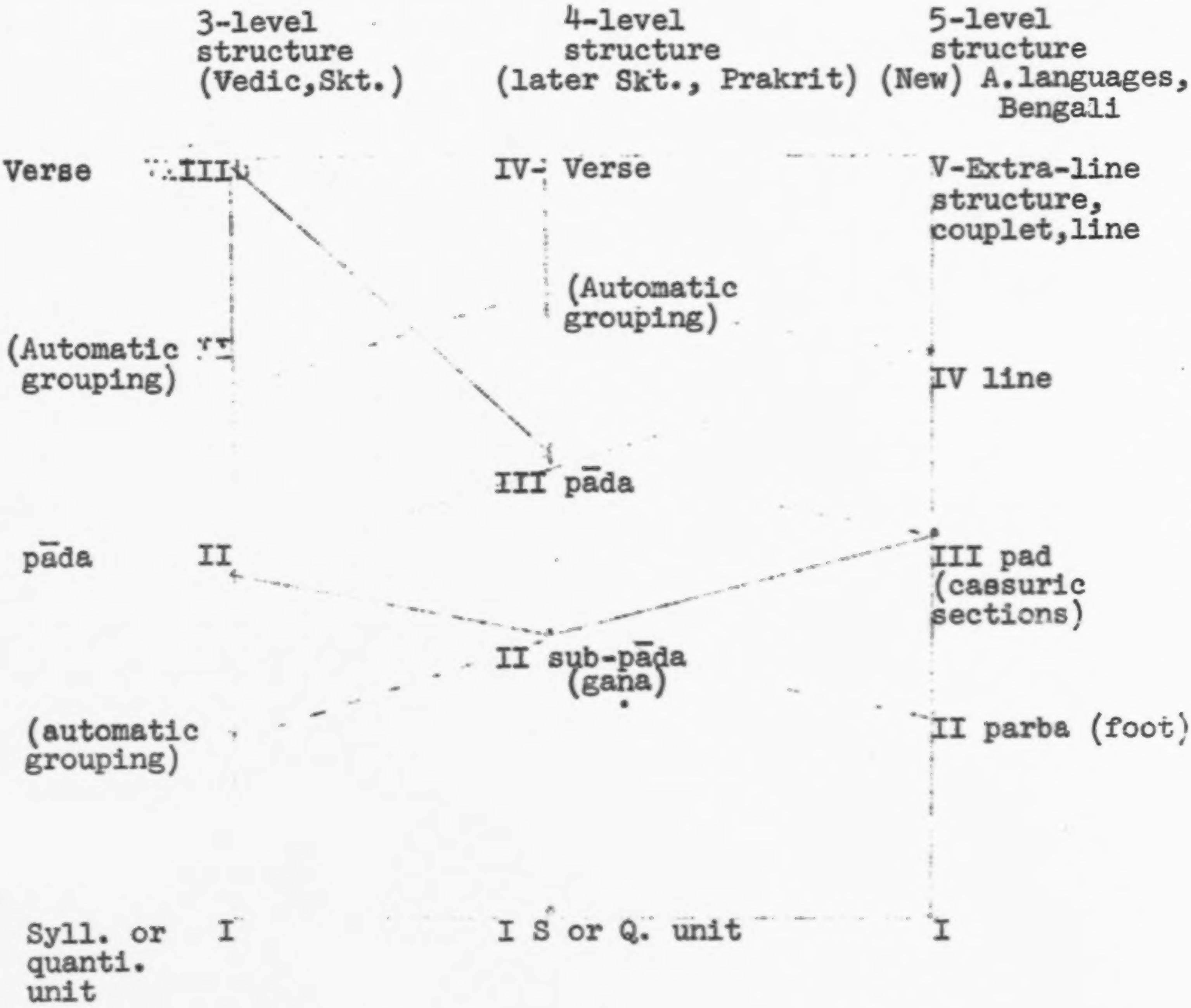
In Vedic and Classical Sanskrit verses, the syllable is on the lowest level, the *pāda* (unit of attention) on the second or middle level and the 'verse' (unit of sense) on the third or highest level. A poem consists of more than one verse; thus this third level may be called a line. There is no fourth level similar to couplet or triplet in verses of other languages. However, Prakrit verse, particularly in its third phase, has very long *pādas* which become units of sense instead of mere units of attention. Whereas in Sanskrit, a verse line consists of *pādas*, which in turn consist of either syllabic or quantitative units (occasionally grouped into more than one sub-*pāda*, but this grouping is more an automatic phenomenon than a significant one) in Prakrit, a verse line consists of *pādas* (units of sense), which in turn consist of sub-*pādas* (units of attention) which again consist of either syllabic or quantitative units. So in late Sanskrit and Prakrit there are four distinct levels, with one extra level of the unit of sense, whereas in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit there are only three.

The particular form of Prakrit verse which influences the two early Bengali verse forms has a four-level structure. The third level, which is marked by the sense pause in the form of the realisation of clause or phrase structure, generally incorporates rhyme. As a result, this level gets the greatest attention o the poets. Historically, the pāda-structure (or sub-line structure) of later Sanskrit and Prakrit is an outgrowth from its two immediate neighbor levels in the following way:


3-level structure
4-level structure
verse (-line) =unit of sense
III
IV (line) verse = unit sense
III pāda = unit of sense, at least pattial sense combined with extra-sense realities, like rhyme
pāda =unit of attention
II
(automatic grouping)
(significant grouping)
II sub-pāda = unit of attention
Syll. or quanti. unit
I
I S. or Q. unit

Two Prakrit metrical structures are present in the EM meter. Structure (1) has four equal padas, whcih are bisected into pairs of equal halves, and has pȧda-final rhyme as follows: aabb. Structure (2) has four equal padas, which are bisected into pairs of unequal halves, and has pȧda-final, sometimes hemistich-final, rhyme as follows:
aabb or (c)/a//(c)/a//(d)/b//(d)/b or (c)
/a//(c)/a//(c)/b//(c)/b

Due to the rhyme pattern aabb and also to the fact that the pādas have already become the units of sense, the above verse structures are easily broken into two halves (couplets). Each couplet of EM meter is complete in forms of sense. The metrical terminology is consequently changed. Pada is now called 'line' or chatra, and caesuric sections of line come to be called pada in Bengali. Padas consist of feet (parba) which in turn consist of syllabic or quantitative units. So the earlier scheme of level-structure will be revised as follows:


3-level structure (Vedic,Skt.)
4-level structure (later Skt., Prakrit)
5-level structure (New) A.languages, Bengali
Verse
III
IV- Verse
V-Extra-line structure, couplet,line
(Automatic grouping)
(Automatic grouping)
IV line
III pāda
pāda
II
III pad (caesuric sections)
II sub-pāda (gaṇa)
(automatic grouping)
II parba (foot)
Syll. or quanti. unit
I
I S or Q. unit
I

2.4.1 CS Meter:

Structure (1) has three varieties: (i) lines of 12//12, (ii) lines of 8//8, and lines of 6//6.

[1] Example of 1(i)

11 1 1 11 1 1 11 2 2 2 1 2 1
gaanata / gaanata / tailā // baṛī / hiẽ ku /
2 2
-rāṛī

2 2 1 12 1 1 2 1 2 2 æ
kanthe / nairā / -maṇi bā // li jāga-nite
1 2 2
su / -ghāṛī

[2] Example of 1(ii)
22 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 2 2
kāa / tarubara // pañca bi / ḍāla

2 1 1 2 2 11 2 2 2
cañcala / cīe // paiṭho / kāla

[song 1

[3] Example of 1(iii)
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 11 1
pekhai / suaṇe // adaśa / jaisā

2 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1
anta / -rāle // moha / taisā

Note that line-final long vowels have one mora each according to rule no. 6. e of first, second and sixth feet is considered short; This is unusual in the strict metrical forms of Prakrit, except for a few, such as pādākulaka. This example is not a form of pādākulaka but is Bengali.

2.4.2 CS Meter:

Structure (2) has three varieties: (i) lines of /6//12, (ii) lines of 14//12, and (iii) lines of 8//12.

[4] Example of 2(i)
1 1 2 21 1 1 11 1 2 1 1
saa sambeaṇa / sarua biārĕte //

1 2 1 2 1 1 1 2 1
a/akkha /akkhaṇa / na jāi #

2 2 1 2 2 11 2 1 2
je je ujūbāte gelā ana-

2 2 1 1 2 2 2
bāṭā bhailā / soī = I

Note: e of first feet of the first and second lines is long, elsewhere it is short.

[5] Example of 2(ii)

1 12 2 2 2 11 2
tinie pāṭe / lāgeli re //

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 21 1
aṇaha ka-saṇa ghaṇa/ gājai ::

2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2
tā suni māra bha- / yaŋ kara re //

11 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 11
saa maṇdala saela / bhājai :/-I

Note: e of second foot of the first line is short. e of saela of the fourth pad is the same as ya or a. The irregular instance of shortening of long vowel is the first a of maṇdala (of the fourth pad), which is not confirmed by any of the rules given above.

[6] Example of 2(iii)

```
1  1 1  2 1 2     2 1   2  2 1  1 12
nagara bāhirẽ // ḍombi tohori /kuṛiā
```

```
 21   21  2        11  2  2  2     22
choi choi yā-  // isi bāhma nā- / ṛiā
```

Note: two short vowels, a of bahma and i of naṛia, are considered long here, according to none of our rules cited before.

Lines of more than sixteen moras are occasionally broken into three scholars. In this scheme, the first two sections are of equal measure, followed by a similar or dissimilar section. So, we get the following:

1(i) 12//12 → 8//8//8

2(i) 16//12 → 8//8//12

2(ii) 14//12 → 7//7//12

2(iii) 8//12 → 8//8//4

The two varieties, 2(i) and 2(ii), may be further split into tetrasectional lines as follows:

2(i) 8//8//12 → 8//8//8//4

2(ii) 7//7//12 → 7//7//7//5

However, a metrical and linguistic resoration of the old Bengali materials is necessary before we put more than one primary pause in a line-structure.

2.6.1 Tatsama moraic was never very popular. Generally, tatsama principles are incorporated to produce syllaborythmic meter. There are many varieties of tatsama moraic, but few poems are written in each. Theoretically, all the quantitative metrical structures can be transformed into tatsama moraic by the method of substitution. But in practice, particularly in Middle Bengali, the structures available in Jayadeva's Gitagovinda are only taken as model. Thus one of the most frequent structures is to be found in the post-Chaitanya Vaishnava songs as follows:

5/5(a)// 5/5(a)// 5/54(b)
5/5(c)// 5/5(c)// 5/54(b)
(Padāvalī variety, [19])

Modern poets have also utilised the tatsama principle on a limited scale. The Indian national anthem is written in tatsama moraic. Its structure is as follows:

8/8/8/4(a) 8/8//8/4(a)
(Modern variety, [20])

2.7.1 Early Moraic meter as found in the Vaishnava lyric songs has more than a dozen varieties. Structure (1) of VS meter contains monosectional and disectional varieties. Structure (2) contains trisectional and ~~te~~terasectional varieties, and structure (3) consists of stanza schemes and couplets of mixed structure.

2.7.2 VS structure (1) has these common sub-varieties:

(i) 6/6(a) 6/6(a) : ,pnosectional
(ii) 8//8(a) 8//8(a) : disectional
(iii) 4/4/4(a) 4/4//4/(a) : monosectional-disectional

2.7.3 Example of structure 1 (i)

```
[7]      1 1 1  1 1 1      1 1    1 21
         ambare sāmara / deha jhapāī

    1 1 1   1 1 1        1  1  1 21
    calahi timira-1 / pathe samāī
```

Note: First a of ambare, ā of sāmara, and e of deha and pathe are all considered short, and all of the line-final long vowels are also short.

2.7.4 Example of structure 1 (ii)

```
     1 1 1 1    2 1  1        1 1  1  1     2 2
[8]  pahilahi / rāga na- // yana-bhaŋga / bhela

     1 1 1 1    2  1 1    1 1  1  1    2 2
     anudina / bāṛhala // abadhi nā / gela
```

Rāmānanda Rāya

Note: Line-final short vowels are long here. The first a of bhaŋga of the third foot is considered short, according to Rule 7. Again ā of nā in the third foot of the second line is considered short.

2.7.5 Example of structure 1 (iii)

```
[9]  2  1 1    1  1 1 1    2 2
     mādhaba / ki kahaba / tāhī
```

```
 11 1 1   1 1 1 1    1 1  1 1 2 2
tua guna / lubadhi mu- // gudha bheli rahī≠ ≠
```

Vidyāpati

Note: e of bheli of the second line is short here.

2.7.6 Structure (2) has these varieties:

(i) 6(a)//6(a)//6/2(b)≠ 6(c)//6(c)//6/2(b)≠≠

couplet of trisectional lines

(ii) 3/4(a)//3/4(a)//3/4/4(b)≠ 3/4(c)//3/4(c)//
3/4/4(b)≠≠

couplet of trisectional lines

(iii) 4/4//4/4//4/4/3(a)≠ 4/4//4/4//4/4/3(a)≠≠

couplet of trisectional lines

(iv) 5/5(a)//5/5(a)//5/5/5/2(b)≠ 5/5(c)//5/5(c)//
5/5/5/2(b)≠≠

This is conventionally said to belong to the trisectional variety. But this variety may also be scanned tetrasectionally as follows:

5/5(a)//5/5(a)//5/5//2(b)≠ 5/5(c)//5/5(c)//
5/5//5/2(b)≠≠

(v) 6/6(a)//6/6(a)//6/6//6/4(b)≠ 6/6(c)//6/6(c)//
6/6//6/4(b)≠≠

2.7.7 Example of structure 2(i)

```
      2 1 1  1 1
[10] sītala buke //

      2 1  1 2
     thāka sukhe//

      2 1  1 1 1   1 1
     tāpa tulicha / kene ≠
```

1 2 2 1
hiyā bhari //

1 1 1 2 1
khelabi nāri //

1 2 11 1 1 1
piyā laiyā / bane

Kaviśekhara

Note: The first e of kene, and e of khelabi are short; ī of nārī and ā of laiyā are also short here. a of bhari is long.

2.7.8 Example of structure 2 (ii)
[11]

2 1 2 1 1
geli / kāmini //

1 1 1 2 1 1
gajahu / gāmini //

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
bihasi / palati ne- / hāri #

2 1 2 1 1
indra- / jālaka //

1 1 1 2 1 1
kusuma- / sāyaka //

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
kuhaki / bheli bara / nāri # #

2.7.9 Example of structure 2 (iii)
[12]

2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1
pallabarāja ca- // ranajuga sobhita //

1 1 1 1 2 1 1   2 1
gati gajarājaka / bhāne

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1   2 1 1 2 1 1
kanaya kadali para // siŋha samārala

2 1 1 2 1 1   2 1
tāpara meru sa- / māne

Note: Final e is short (Rule 6)

2.7.10 Example of structure 2(iv)
[13] 1 1 1   1 1   1 1 1 11
khanari khana / mahaghi bhai //

1 1 1 1 1   1 1 1 11
kichu aruna / nayana kai //

1 1 1 1 1   2 1 2   2 1 2   2
kapaṭe dhari / māna sam- / māna le- / hī

1 1 1 1 1   2 1 1 1
kanaya jayã / pema kasi //

1 1 1 1 1   2 1 1 1
punu palati / baŋka hasi //

2 1 1 1   1 1 1 1 1   2 1 2   2
ādhi sayã / adhara madhu- / pāna de-/hī

Vidyāpati

2.7.11 Example of structure 2 (v)
[14] 1 1 1 1 1 1   1 1 1 1 1 1
kaṣila kanaka- / rucira gaura //

1 1 1   1 1 1   1 1 1 1 1 1
akhila bhubana / marama caura //

1 1 1 2 1   2 1 2 1
karabha śuṇḍa / bāhu daṇḍa //

2 1 1 $\underline{1}$ 1 $\underline{2}$ 1 1
kalmaṣa tāpa / trāsani

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1
pracura pulaka- / śobhita aŋga //

1 1 1 $\underline{2}$ $\underline{1}$ 1 1 1 2 1
naṭana līlā / adhika raŋga //

1 $\underline{1}$ 1 1 1 1 $\underline{1}$ 1 1 2 1
bayāna śarada / pūnima indu //

1 1 1 $\underline{2}$ 1 $\underline{2}$ 1 1
sarasa hāsa / bhāṣaṇi

Note: ā of tāpa (fourth line), līlā (sixth line) and bayāna (seventh line) is short; o of śobhita (fifth line) and ū of pūnima (seventh line) are also short.

2.7.12 Structure (3) has the following varieties:

(i) 4/4/4(a) 8//8// 4/4/4(a)

couplet of one monosectional and one trisectional lines.

(ii) 8//8(a) 8//8//8/4(a)

couplet of one disectional and one trisectional lines.

(iii) 3/4/2(a) 3/4/2(a) 3/4//3/4//3/4/2(a)

stanza or triplet of two monosectional lines followed by a trisectional one.

(iv) 6/4(a) 6/4(a) 6/6//6/4(a)

The last line may also be scanned trisectionally as follows: 6//6//6/4.

Stanza or triplet of two monosectional lines followed by a disectional or trisectional one.

2.7.13 Example of structure 3(i)

[15]
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
turitahi karaha pa- / yāna

21 2 21
rāi jāgāi //

1 1 1 1 2 1 1
leha nija mandire //

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
yaba nāhi hota bi- / hāna

Govindadāsa

Note: e of leha and mandire is short. Also, ā of nāhi is short.

2.7.14 Example of structure 3(ii)

[16]
2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
sajani jānalū // bihi mohe bāma

11 2 1 1 1 1
dui locana bhari

2 1 1 2 11
yo hari herai

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
tachu pāye majhu para- / nāma

Govindadāsa

Note: a of sajani is long. o of mohe is short. Again, ā of pāye is short.

2.7.15 Example of structure 3(iii)
[17]

1 1 1 2 1 1 2
śunalo / rajara / jhi #

1 1
tore)

1 1 1 2 1 1 2
kahite / āsiyā- / chi #

2 1 1 1 1 1
kānu / hena dhana //

1 2 1 1 1 1
parā- / ne badhili //

1 2 1 1 1 1 2
e-kā- / ja karili / ki #

Vidyāpati II

Note: o of śunalo, second ā of rājāra and āsiāchi and e of kahite, hena, parāne and ekāja are considered short. tore) is anacrusis.

2.7.16 Example of structure 3(iv)
[18]

1 1
jabu)

1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
godhuli samaya / beli

1 1
dhani)

1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
mandira bāhara / bheli

1 1 1 1 1 1
naba jaladhara /

1 1 1 2 1
bijuri rehā //

2 1 1 1 1 2 2
danda pasāri / geli

Note: e of all pad- and line- penultimate syllables is long. All other long vowels are short, except the first a of danda. (The last line may also be scanned as follows: 6//6//10).

2.8.1 Example of Padavali variety:
[19]

2 1 1 1 2 1 2
tuŋga maṇi / mandire //

1 1 1 1 1 2 1 2
ghana bijuri / sañcare //

2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
meharuci / basanapari- / dhāna

1 1 1 1 1 2 1 2
yata yubati / maṇḍalī

2 1 2 1 2 1 1
panthamā- / jha pekhali //

2 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 2
koi naha / rāika sa- / māma

Śaśīśekhara

2.8.1 Example of Modern variety:
[20]

janagana-mana-adhi nāyaka haya he
bhārata-bhāgya bi-/dhāta

R.N. Tagore

(This is the refrain part of the national anthem of India. However, the tatsama principle is not maintained throughout the anthem.)

2.9.1 New Moraic

All forms of Bengali Moraic Meter were based on secondary resources until 1880, when a new principle was discovered. This principle is that currently available phonetic values maintain an opposition between closed and open syllables. It is not difficult to find individual lines, particularly in the last quarter of the 19th century, which may be scanned according to the new principle, but if the whole poem is considered, the principle is not rigid.

New Moraic has the greatest number of structure varieties. The distribution of non-final pauses makes this meter extremely variable and diversified. Theoretically, all sorts of combinations and permutations of subfoot, foot and section are possible, though some are favoured more than others. An NM line contains from one to four sections, each section having from one to three feet. Instances of more than four sections in a line are rare. A nonfinal foot contains three to seven moras and a final one contains one to seven moras. The trisectional and tetrasectional lines have generally word-final primary pauses, whereas monosectional and disectional lines may have primary pauses in the middle of words.

The most frequent structures that are found in Modern Bengali verse are the following ones:

Structure 1: Monosectional and Disectional
Structure 2: Trisectional
Structure 3: Tetrasectional
Structure 4: Mixed lines and Stanza-forms

2.9.2 Structure (1) has many varieties, only a few are given below:

(i) 4/3(a) = 4/3(a) = = : monosectional
(ii) 6/6(a) = 6/6(a) = = : monosectional
(iii) 6/6/2(a) = 6/6/2(a) = = : monosectional
(iv) 3/4//3/3(a) = 3/4//3/3(a) = =: disectional
(v) 4/4//4/2(a) = 4/4//4/2(a) = = : disectional
(vi) 6/6//6/5(a) = 6/6//6/5(a) = =: disectional
(vii) 6/6/4//6/6/4(a) = 6/6/4//6/6/4(a) = = : disectional

[21] Example of Structure 1(i)

1 1 2 1 1 1
bāburām / sāpuṛe,

1 1 2 1 1 1
kothā yās / bāpu re

Sukumār Rāy

[22] Example of Structure 1(ii)

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 12 1
yekhāne yā kichu / ghaṭe anīṣṭi

1 1 2 1 1 1 2 2 1
sakalēr mūle / kamīunīsṭi

Annadā Śaṅkar Rāy,

Ginnī Balen

[23] Example of Structure 1(iii)

1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 2 1 1
pātī arānye / kār padapāt / śuni?

1 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 1 1
jāni kono dīn / phīrbe nā phāl- / gunī

Sudhindranath Datta

Pratīkḳa

[24] Example of Structure 1(iv)

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1
nīrabe : ācha kena / bāhīr dyuāre

1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
ādhār : lāge cokhe / dekhi nā tuhāre

Tagore, Gitabitan:
Puja 133

[25] Example of Structure 1(v)

1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
āmādēr / chotonadī // cale āke/bāke

2 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 1
bāisākh / māse tār // hātu jāl / thāke

Tagore, Sahaj Pāṭh

[26] Example of Structure 1(vi)

jagat-juṛiya / ek jāti āche //
se jātir nām / mānuṣ jāti
ek pŕithibīr / stanye lālita //
eki rabi śaśī / moder sāthī

Satyendra Nath Datta

[27] Example of Structure 1(vii)

naba bikaśita / kusumita ghana / pallabe //
ābrita, nibhrita, / aśokkunja- / bhabane;
śyāmalamohama; /mukhara kokila- / saŋgīte; //
mridhu kampita / naba basanta / pabane;

Dwijendra Lal Rāy,
Pratham Cumban
(Triveṇī)

2.9.3 Structure (2) has many

(i) 6(a)//6(a)// 6/2(b) = 6(c)//6(c)//6/2(b) =≠

(ii) 6(a)//6(a)//6/3(b) = 6(c)//6(c)//6/3(b) ≠=

(iii) 5/4(a)//5/4(a)//5/5/2(b) = 5/4(c)//
5/4(c)//5/4(c)//5/5/2 =≠

[28] Example of Structure 2(i)

1 1 2 1 1
kahilām ami, //

1 1 2 1 1
"tumi bhūswāmī", //

1 2 2 1 2
bhumīr ānta / nāi ≠

1 1 1 1 2
ceye dɛ kho mōr //

1 1 1 1 2
ache baṛo jōṛ //

1 1 2 1 1 2
maribār mato / ṭhāi ≠=

Tagore, Dui Bighā Jami

[29] Example of Structure 2(ii)

yadi smita hese, //

ele ab aśeṣe, //
āso nāi kɛna / lagane,
uddeśhin //
pranaye ye-din //
kẽpechila hiyā / saghane?

Sudhīndra Nāth Datta
Bhrasṭa Lagna (Tanwī)

[30] Example of Structure 2(iii)

1 2 1 1   2 1 1
anāndita / mān āji //

1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1
kī sāŋ gīte / uṭhe bāji //

2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
bīśwabīna / peyechi yena / buke.

1 2 2 2 1 1
sakāl lābh / sāb kṣati //

2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
tūccha āji / hola ati //

2 1 2 1 1 1 2 1 1
dūkha sūkh / bhule yāoyār sukhe.

Tagore, Nabaparicay
(Bīthikā)

2.9.4 Only one variety of Structure (3)

will be mentioned here, though there are many. This has a line of forty five moras. The couplet-form is as follows:

6/6(a)//6/6(a)//6/6(a)//6/3(b)
6/6(c)//6/6(c)//6/6(c)//6/3(b)

[31] Example of Structure (3)

āse guti guti / baiyākaraṇ , //
dhūlibharā duṭi / laiyā caraṇ, //
dihnīta kari / rājāstaraṇ //
pabitra pada-/ aŋke
lalāṭe bindu / bindu gharma, //
bali - aŋkita / śithīla carma, //
prkhar mūrti / agniśarma, //
chātra mare ā-/ taŋke.

Tagore, Puraṣkār

2.9.5 Structure (4) contains many varieties. Only two of them will be cited here:

(i) 6(a)//6(a)//5(b) + 6(c)//6(c)//5(b) =
12(d)//12(d)//12(e)//5(b) = 12(e)//5(b):
two trisectional lines, followed by one tetrasectional and one disectional ones make this stanzaic form.

(ii) 5/5(a)5/2(b) = 5/5(a)// 5/2(b) = 5/5(c)//
5/5(c)//5/5(c)//5/2(b) - 5/5(a)//5/2(b) = = :
two disectional lines, followed by one tetrasectional and one disectional line , make this stanzaic form; the underlined sections are the same.

[32] Example of Structure 4(i)

adhuna-ānīta // naba alikhita//
lekhanī mor, -
ki jāni kɛman // bhāgyalikhan //
āche re tor !
mukhagre tor / chuṭibe ki gān? //
pabi lāñchanā ? / milibe ki mān? //
kothā kabe habe / kājer khatam, //
neśār bhor, =
jāni nā, ei to / jāgili pratham,//
lekhanī mor. = =

Sudhīndra Nāth Datta,
Nabin Lekhanī
(Tanwī)

[33] Examples of Structure 4(ii)

bibaś din, / biras kāj // ke kothā chinu / dōhe, ≠

sahasa prem / asile aj // ki maha sama-/ rohe. ≠

nirabe ray / alas man//
ădharmay / bhabankoṇ //

bhaŋile dwar / kon se ksan //
ạparajita / ohe. ≠
sahasa prem / asile aj //
bipul bid-/ rohe ≠

Tagore, Bijayī

3.1 Syllabic and Syllabomoraic Meter

The Syllabic meter is found to be used in Early Bengali in *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, a drammatic epic of the fifteenth century by Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa. This particular meter follows Prakrit verse forms, with some changes or innovations (See 2.5 -4.). The five-level structure is established very firmly in this work of Baṛu Caṇḍīdās.

A line of the Syllabic meter of *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* (= SKS meter) on the second level, always ends in rhyme and sentence boundary.

The syllabic meter of Middle Bengali (= MBS meter), being the chief medium of the epics, narrative poems and even of the songs, continues to dominate. An MBS line ends, like

SKS lines, in rhyme and sentence boundary. The extra-line structures are more diversified than those of the SKS meter.

In Modern or New Bengali, this meter (= NBS meter) has undergone a significant change. It is no more a pure syllabic meter.

The syllabic shapes of Bengali in the two periods are as follows:

Middle Bengali:
$(C)\ \underset{V^{\wedge}}{VV}$ final syllables
$(C)VC$ non-final syllables; $(c)\ v(\overset{V}{\wedge})\ (c)$

New Bengali
$(c)(C)V(\underset{C}{y})$ for final syllables; $(c)(c)v(\overset{V}{\wedge})\ (c)$
for non-final ones.

Phonetic length is noticeable in monosyllables and in final closed syllables. The emergence of bisyllabism, due to the penultimate stress system, is also significant in this period. In NBS meter, a word-final closed syllable which is relatively longer than the preceding ones, equals two units, whereas, in SKS and MBS meters, it is considered as a single unit. Thus, a quantitative value is incorporated in this form of syllabic meter, which is here termed Syllabomoraic meter. It is called in Bengali yaugik which means 'composite', i.e., a mixture of quantitative value with syllabic.

3.2 SKS meter has three types of verse structures, viz. (i) couplet, (ii) quartet, and (iii) sestet. Each type contains lines of six to fourteen syllables. The first two types have longer lines of up to twenty eight syllables.

3.2.1 SKS lines have these structures:

Structure (1): monosectional lines of eight syllables
Structure (2): monosectional lines of ten syllables
Structure (3): disectional lines of fourteen syllables (8//6=)
Structure (4): trisectional lines of twenty syllables (6//6//8=)
Structure (5): trisectional lines of twenty-six syllables (8//8//10=, occasionally with section-final rhyme.)

[34] Example of Structure (1)

tehena āhmāra dūta =

Tāmbula-khaṇḍa

[35] Example of Structure (2)

śubha tithi / bāra śubhakṣaṇe =

Tāmbula-khaṇḍa

[36] Example of Structure (3)

ācambita buṛhī dekhi // brindabana mājhe =

Tāmbula-khaṇḍa

[37] Example of Structure (4)

ahoniśi dahe//

sakala parāṇa //

āra thīra nahe mane ≠

Tāmbula-khaṇḍa

[38] Example of Structure (5)

dekhitā tohmāra rūpa //
bidaritẽ cāhe buka //
saṁsārata tohmā kailõ sāre ≠

Bhāra-khanda

3.2.2 SKS meter has many varieties of verse forms which fall into three types, mentioned above (2.2). Examples of the three types are as follows:

Variety (1): Couplet of 8//6(a) ≠ 8//6(a) ≠≠
Variety (2): Quartet of 8//6(a) = 8//6(a) ≠
8//6(a) = 8//6(a) ≠=
Variety (3): Sestet of 4/4(a) ≠ 4/4(a) ≠
4/4//2(a) . 4/4(b) = 4/4//4/2(b) ≠=

[39] Example of Variety (1)

suṇaha sundarī rādhā //
bacana āhmāra. =
yamunāka yāyi chale //
pāṇī āṇibāra ≠

Baṁśi-khaṇḍa

[40] Examples of Variety (2)

nā kānda nā kānda kāhnāĩ // suṇaha bacane.
kātara kike haya // kamalalocane.
āyātrāyã gokula // kayilẽ gamame.
śiyarata bāśī kārā-/ yila tekāraṇe.

Baṃśī-khaṇḍa

Note: The second and the third lines each have one syllable less in their first hemistiches. This variety commonly has aabb as a rhyme scheme. (See 2.5.3)

[41] Example of Variety (3)

sakala go/ṭha melaidbõ.
baṛāika rhī/ra yogaibõ.
gharata ra/khīã baṛāi-//ra sebā ka/ribõ.
baṛaira ka/riā toṣe.
khandaibõ a/paṇa doṣe.
bāsalī ban/dīã gāila // baṛu caṇḍī/dāse

Tāmbula-khaṇḍa

Note: The rhyme scheme of aaabbb . sestet into two triplets. Thes rhyme scheme has never been adopted by any later poets.

3.3 Medieval Syllabic Meter

Medieval Syllabic (=MS) meter has all the line structures of ES with a few new ones. Many new combinations of feet and sections are found in these MS line structures. Of all the structures, the exābalī (sections of six or five syllables in a line), the payār (8//6) and the tripadī (8//8//6, 8,10 or 6//6//6,8 are the most popular. While the second one, payār, is the most dominant of all the medieval metrical forms. Quartets and sestets of ES are not found in MS, but many stanza forms are present in this meter.

3.3.1 Three structures are cited here of the following order:

1) Exābalī: 6//5(a) 6//5(a) : rhymed couplet.
2) Payār: 8//6(a) 8//6(a) : rhymed couplet.
3) Tripadī: 8(a)//8(a)//10(b) : only one line from a rhymed couplet is given here.

[42] Example of Exabalī

baruṇa tanayā / pātūle dhām
bhaginī kajana / śunaha nām

Hemchandra

[43] Example of Payār

mahābhāratera katha // amṛita samāna
kāśirāma dasa kahe // śune punyabāna

Kaśirama Dasa

[44] Example of Tripadi

śrinibāsa cāribhai //

ānande maŋgala gai//
haridāsa hari hari bola

Locandāsa

3.3.2 Couplets of lines of different length are mostly found at the beginning, and occasionally in the middle of a poem. But tiiplets of mixed structures are not also rare in MS. An example of the latter is given below (8(a) 10(a) 6(b)//6(b)//8(a)):

[45] Example of triplet of mixed structure

nadīyābinoda gorā
yena keli kutūhale bhorā
kāmera kāmāna // bhuru niramāna //
bāṇa kachiyāche tarā

Locanadāsa

3.3.3 Stanza forms are generally found in the lyrics, and rarely found in the epics and narrative tales and discourses. Here two common stanza forms will be cited which are taken from the Vaisnava lyrics. The first example is a couplet of the following order:

1) 8(a) 6(b)//6(b)//8(a) : one monosectional and one trisectional lines with rhyme.

The second example is a triplet of the following order:

2) 6/1(a) 2)6/1(a) 6//6//6/1(a) :
Two monosectional (the second one with anacrusis and on trisectional lines with rhyme.)

[46] Example of stanza-form (couplet):

dekha dekha gorācāde
kāñcana rañjana //
barana manda-//
mohana natanchāde

Note: the falling of the second caesura in the middle of a compound in the second line is noticeable. This happens very rarely in syllabic meter in Bengali.

[47] Example of stanza-form (triplet)

1 1 1 1 1 1 1
šunalo rajāra / jhi

1 1 1 1 1 1
tore) kahite asiyā- / chi

1 1 1 1 1 1
kanu hena dhana //

1 1 1 1 1
parāne badhili //

1 1 1 1 1
ekāja karili / ki

Vidyāpati II

Note: tore) is an anacrusis.

Cf. the scansion done according to a different principle in Early Moraic (VS meter).

3.4 New Syllabic of Syllabomoraic Meter

3.4.1 This meter is the most dominant one in the contemporary Bengali verse. The third phase of Syllabic meter in Bengali is significant in two ways: first, it is no more a pure syllabic meter, a quantitative value is added to it; second, it has numerous structural varieties, including blank verse and enjambed line. As this meter is the closest to the phonological principles of Bengali, it has developed certain norms of connected words and phrases accepted by the reading public.

3.4.2 Bengali has two sets of syllables, viz. open and closed syllables. Two lengths are found in each set. We have the following phonetic phenomena:

Set of open syllables: final ones are relatively longer than the non-final ones, e.g. kãcā, here ā is longer than ã.

Set of closed syllables: final ones are relatively longer than the non-final ones, e.g. kāñcan, here is longer than āñ.

Again, āñ is longer than ā̃, and an than ā. So it follows, that ā̃ is short and an is long, whereas ā and āñ stand between these two.

Pure syllabic meter treats all syllables on the same level. But the New Syllabic meter in Bengali does not do so. The syllable, represented here as an, has a special place in NS. an can replace two non-an syllables in this meter. A phonetic value, added to the general syllabic principle, makes this meter rather unique.

3.4.3 NS has all the structural varieties of SKS and MS meters with some additions. Besides its new syllabomoraic principle and many structural varieties, it has developed a further feature which is called bisyllabism.

Bisyllabism was not strictly established in SKS and MS, where for a foot of six syllables we sometimes get either five or seven, and again, for feet of eight and ten syllables, we get occasionally either one less or one more syllable. Particularly in the first stage of New Syllabic, feet of any number, from three to seven, of syllables are available. But in the last or present stage of syllabomoraic meter, it is a rule that a foot must have an even number of syllables.

3.4.4 The formative period of NS in the nineteenth century has syllabomoraic feet of odd numbers. Two varieties are cited below. These include lines of pentasyllabomoraic feet and those of heptasyllabomoraic feet combined with tetra- and tri-syllabomoraic ones:

1) 5/5(a) - 5/5(a) : a couplet of monosectional lines.

2) 2) $7_{(a)}/7_{(a)}$// 4/4/3(b) 2)7(c)/7(c)// 4/4/3(b) - : couplet of disectional lines.

[48] Example of NS: Formative period, variety (1)

bamsir dhwani / yena he phaṇī
-ami ramani / pramad gani

Iśwar Gupta, Kṙiṣṇer
prati rādhika

[49] Example of NS: Formative period,
variety (2)

haye) pramatta bhramamade /
bhramiya pade pade //
caridike / dekhitecha / dwanta
deha-) patan nahi habe /
ratan-sama rabe //
mane bujhi / jenechi ni-/ tanta

Iśwar Gupta,Bodhendubikāś.
1st act.

3.4.5 Present Bengali NS (=PNS) has two types of feet, viz. tetrasyllabic moraic (= t-foot or t) and hexasyllabomoraic (h-foot or h). An NS line generally contains two to eight feet of any combination, though theoretically more feet are possible. A line may be divided into two divisions, viz. 1) final (=F) and 2) non-final (=nF) ones, which are formed as follows:

$$\text{F} \qquad \begin{array}{l} \text{h(t)} \\ \text{tt} \end{array}$$

$$\text{nF} \qquad \begin{array}{l} \text{h(h)}\big\}\big\{\text{h)} \\ \text{t(t)}\big\}\big\{\text{tt)(tt)} \end{array}$$

So a line is but a combination of nF and F. Four common combinations will be cited here:

1) Ekābalī: h+h

2) Payār: tt+h

3) Tripadī: tt(a) + h

4) Caupadī: tt(a) tt(a) tt + th

[50] Example of an Ekābalī line

rājā duhkhī dhani $\overset{+}{/}$ prabhed nā gane ≠

Hemcandra

[51] Example of a Payār line

puṇye pāpe / duḥkhe sukhe $\overset{+}{/}$ patant utthāne =

Tagore

[5æ] [52] Example of a Tripadī line

naditīre / brindābane //
sanātan / ɛkmane //
+japiehen nām ≠

Tagore

[53] Example of a Caupadī line

durjayer / jaymālā //
pūrṇa kare / mor ḍālā //
uddāmer / utarol //
+bāje mor / chander krandane ≠

Tagore

3.4.6 A line of $\overset{h+t}{t+h}$ is often found to form a whole poem. But lesser lines are seldom found without being in a stanzaic or a mixed structure. Lesser lines may be called bound lines. These lines may include one to eight syllabomoraic units. It is not necessary to divide these lines into F and nF. Some lesser lines will be shown in the examples of stanzaic forms.

3.4.7 Extra-line structures in NS are found in the forms of couplet, triplet, quartet and so forth. Rhymed couplet is still dominant over all other forms. However, unrhymed forms are not uncommon. The mixture of all line structures is also an important feature of NS.

1) tt+ th(a) t+h(a) tt+th(b)
tt + th(b) tt + th(c) tt +th(c) h(c)
tt + h(d) h(d) = two couplets and one triplet followed by a third couplet.

2) t + h(a) t+h(a) t+t(b) t+t(b)
t+h(a) t+h(a) : four decasyllabomoraic lines with a rhyme (a), infixed by a pair of octosyllabomoraic lines with a rhyme (b).

[54] Example of NS stanza (1)

1 naha mātā, / naha kranya, $\overset{+}{/}$ naha badhū,
/ sundarī rupasī,
2 he nandan- $\overset{+}{/}$ bāsini urbaśī.
goṣthe yabe / sandhyā nāme $\overset{+}{/}$ śrānta dehe/
3 swarnāñcal ṭāni
tumi kono / griha-prānte $\overset{+}{/}$ nahi jwālo /

4 sandhyādipakhāni, ⸗
+
5 dwidhay ja-/ ṛita pade/kamprakakṣe /
namranetrapāte ≠
+
6 smitahasye / nahi calo / salajjita /
bāsarśayyāte ≐
7 stabdha ardharāte. ≠
+
8 uṣar u-/daysama / anabaguṇṭhita =
9 tumi akuṇṭhita. ≐

Tagore, Urbaśī

Note: the seventh and eighth lines are monometers or lesser lines.

[55] Example of NS stanza (2)

durbhikṣa śrā / bastīpure yabe
jāgiyā u / ṭhila hāhārabe =
buddha nija / bhaktagaṇe =
śudhālen / jane jane, =
"kṣudhitere / annadān-sebā =
tomra la- / ibe badlo keba." ≠

Tagore, Nagarlaksmī

Note: the alternative scanning is as follows:

t+h(a) = t+h(a) = tt(b)tt(b)+ th(a) = t+h(a) ≠ ≠ :

a four-line stanza, instead of a six-line one.

3.4.8 Run-on-lines were never found before the middle of the nineteenth century. This is the most significant metrical feature that has come from the Western literary tradition.

Run-on-lines are generally found in NS, occasionally in the stressed meter and found in the moraic meter. Michael Madhūsudan Datta first introduced this line structure into Bengali in 1858. Datta gave the name, <u>amitrāksar-chanda</u>, to the unrhymed run-on-line structure. Later, the name <u>mitrāksar-chanda</u>, was given to rhymed structure.

3.4.9 NS run-on-lines have two main varieties, viz. 1) fourteen syllabic structure, and 2) eighteen syllabic structure. Both may by rhymed or unrhymed.

Here we will cite one fourteen syllabic unrhymed structure and one eighteen syllabic rhymed structure. (The visual line final pause is marked here by ++, and the sentence-final pause is marked with ╪.)

[56] Example of tt+ht run-on-lines (unrhymed)

```
    t           t     +    h         ++
chinu mora / sulocane, / godbarī-tire,
                                    ++
kap̰ot-ka/ poti yathā, / ucca brikḥsa-cūr̥e,
                                         ++
bādhi nirp / thake sukne.   chinu ghor bane
                                       ++
nam pānca- / baṭī, marte / suradhām-sama
```

Madhusūdan Datta,

Meghnād-badh-kābya

[57] Example of rhymed run-on-lines of tt + th: (A run-on-line may have any combination of those constituents.)

zt t + t
he ādi-́ja / nanī sindhu, / basundharā /
h
santān tomar, ++
t h + t
ɛkmātra / kanya taba kole. tai tandrā /
t
nāhi ar ++
cakṣe taba, / tāi baksa juṛi / sadā sāŋ kā, /
sadā āśā,
sadā āndolan; /

Tagore, Samudrer Prati

4.1 Stressed or Syllaboaccentual meter (= SA meter) has been in use since the sixteenth century. Rabindranath Tagore and Dwijendralal Ray have used and developed this meter to a considerable extent in the present century. The developemnt of SA meter may be divided into two broad periods: viz. 1) Early SA, 16th to 19th century; 2) New SA, from 1900.

The first poet who used this meter in the 16th century is Locandāsa, the famous biographer of Śrīcaitanyadeva. He wrote a few lyrics in this meter. In the eighteen century, there are many poets who used this meter in *śākta* poems, lyrics devoted to the mystic mother cult. Two major poets of this batch are Ramaprasad and Kamalakanta. Poets of East Bengali ballads and kabiwalas of the nineteenth century also utilised this meter very extensively.

4.2 ESA has only one type of foot, viz. a four syllabic one, divided into two trochaic sub-feet $(\acute{0}\ 0 + \acute{0}\ 0)$, where the second stress is very weak. (This weak stress will not be shown in the scansion.) It is really a tetrasyllabic foot with an initial strong metrical stress. Final foot and anacrusis are generally a trochaic half-foot. In order of frequency of occurence, the line structure has the following varieties:

disectional (of four feet) or tetrameter,
trisectional(of six feet , occasionally seven feet) or hexameter, occasionally heptameter
monosectional (of two feet) or dimeter,
tetrasectional (of eight feet) or octometer.

We will cite here two examples each from Locandāsa and Śākta lyrics (one each from Rāmaprasād and Kamalākānta), and one each from Eastern Bengali Ballads, Bāul songs and Dāśarathi

Ray; these seven examples will show all the line structures and the mixture of those that are found in ESA/

[58] Example from Locanadās

scheme: óo-oo(a)/ óo-oo(a)//
óo-oo/óo(b) ≠
0́0-00/0́0-00//0́0-00/0́0(b) ≠ ≠
= couplet of disectional
tetrameter lines

mukh jhalmal / b́adan kamal // d́ighal ākhi / d́uti ≠
d́ekhe lāje / manah-khede // khanjan koṭi / koṭi ≠ ≠

Note: the first foot of the first line has óoo instead of óo-oo.

[59] Example of Locandas:

scheme: óo-oo/óo-oo(a) // óo-oo/oo-oo(a)//
óo-oo/óo-oo/óo(b) ≠
óo-oo/óo-oo(c) // óo-oo/óo-oo(c)//
óo-oo/óo-oo/óo(b) ≠ ≠
= couplet of trisectional
heptameter lines.

éman keu bya/t́hita thāke//
ḱathar chale / ḱhānik rākhe//
ńayān bhaire / d́ekhi rup-/ḱhāni ≠
ĺocandase / b́ale kene//

ńayan dili / úgar pane //
ḱul majali / -́apana-a-/ṕani

[60] Example from śākta lyrics

scheme: oo-oo/óo-oo(a)
óo)óo-oo/óo-oo//oo-oo/óo-oo(a)
= couplet of one monosectional dimeter and one disectional tetrameter lines.

ḿan re krisi / ḱaj jano na
éman) ḿanab jamin / f́ailo patit //
-́abad karle / ṕhalto sona

Rāmprasād

[61] Example from śākta lyrics

scheme: óo-oo/oo-oo//oo-oo/óo-oo(a)
oo-oo/óo-oo(b)// oo-oo/óo-oo(b)//
óo-oo/oo-oo (b)//oo-oo/óo-oo(a)
= couplet of one disectional tetrameter and one tetrasectional octometer.

majlo amar / man bhaamara // kalipada
/ milkamale
caran kalo / bhramar kalo //
kaloy kalo / mise gela //
sukha dukha / saman halo //
ananda-sa-/ gar uthale

Kamalakanta

[62] Example from Eastern Bengali Ballads

scheme: óo-oo/óo-oo//o̊o-oo/óo(a)
óo-oo/óo-oo//óo-oo/óo(a)
= disectional tetrameter couplet

t́umi āmār / ḿukher madhu //
ǵalār puṣpa- / ḿālā
ṕhul tuilyā / d́ibām kanyā //
t́umi gā̃itho / ḿālā

Maimansimha-gītikā

[63] Example from Bāul Songs:

scheme: óo-) óo-oo/ ó(a)
óo-oo/óo-oo // óo-oo/ó(a)
= couplet of one monosectional dimeter and one disectional tetrameter lines.

kothā) d́īn-daradī / śā̃i
ćetan-gurur / śaŋga laye //
Ḱhabar kara / b́hai

Lālan

[64] Example from Dāśarathi Rāy

scheme: óo-oo/óo-oo(a)// óo-oo/óo-oo(a)//
óo-oo(a)/ óo-oo/óo(b)
= trisectional heptameter line

Ḱebal balchi / ĺukiye ghaṭe //

tóra pāche / bális hāṭe //
tóder peṭe / káthā jīrṇa / háy nā
Kalaṅla-bhañjan

4.3. Early SA meter has only one type of foot, viz, tetrasyllabic. New SA has two more types, viz. trisyllabic and hexasyllabic; though none of these are very popular. Besides this, NSA has run-on-lines, experimentally. ESA is the medium of a few shorter lyrics and songs and many nursery, nonsense and idiomatic rhymes, while NSA is employed in serious verse as well.

4.3.1 NSA line- and stanza-structures are the same as those of NS (see 3.4.5-7). We will cite here only three examples of the following order:

1) rhymed line containing trisyllabic and disyllabic feet
2) rhymed line containing hexasyllabic and trisyllabic feet
3) run-on-lines of Mahāpayār (tt+ th++)

[65] Example of NSA variety (1)

āmi) cāi āmār / buddhiti / hay āro / sūkṣma
cāi bhāryār / majāj hay/ ekṭu kam / rukṣa
Dwijendra Lāl Rāy.

[66] Example of NSA variety (2)

tumi karo nāi ko / baktritā, ki sabhāy //
paṛo nāi ko kono / prabandha;
śiśuguloy nīye / mastak bhakṣaṇ kore //
karo nāi ko tāder / kabandha;

Dwijendra Lāl Rāy, Bhakta

[67] Example of NSA variety (3)

yara āmār / sā̃jh-sakāler +/ gāner dīpe /
jwāliye dile ālo ++
āpan hiyār / paraś diye + ei jībaner /
sakal sāda kālo ++
yāder ālox- / chāyār līlā; +/ maner mānuṣ/
bāire beṛāy yara, ++
tāder prāner /jharnā-srote +/ amār parān/
hoye jāhār dhārā ++
colche boye / caturdike.

Tagore, śeṣ gān (Palātakē)

5.1 Syllaborythmic Meter

The sequential positions of the syllabic valuse are strictly maintained in this meter. This meter is called akṣaravritta or varṇavritta in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Particularly Classical Sanskrit employs this meter exclusively. We first find the use of it in Bengali only in the eighteenth century. The poets of this period have followed the Sanskrit syllabic values (secondary system) in SR meter which has the following rules:

SR rules

1. Long vowels = ā,ī,ū,e,o,ai,au; short vowels before conjuncts and before final ṃ.
2. Short vowels = a,i,u.

Some poets of the present century have also used this meter, but with a different set of rules. The opposition between long and short vowels did not exist in medieval Bengali, nor does it now. The borrowed secondary system, which was based on non-existent phonological values, could not popularise this meter. However, an opposition is found in present Bengali between closed and open syllables. (see 1.3) Modern poets have utilised this opposition in their new SR meter. We find two distinct forms of SR meter in Bengali, viz. 1) a Medieval SR based on Sanskrit principle (= Tatsama SR) and 2) a new SR based on the principle available in current Bengali (Innovated SR).

ISR has this following simple set of rules:

1. All closed syllables are long.
2. All open syllables are short.

5.2 We will cite here four Sanskrit *varṇavritta* varieties that are transformed into Bengali in the TSR and the ISR (two for each). TSR includes Bhujaŋga-prayāta and Toṭaka which have the following schemes:

1. Bhujaŋga-prayāta: v--v--v--v-- for each line.
2. Toṭaka: vv-vv-vv-vv- for each line.

ISR includes Mandakranta and Rucira which have the following schemes:

1. Mandakranta: ----vvvv--v--v-- for each line.
2. Rucira: v-v-vvvv-v-vv for each line

Our fifth example of this meter is an ISR which transformed English dactyl meter into Modern Bengali.

[68] Example of Bhujaŋga-prayata (TSR)

adure maharudra dake gabhire
are re are daksa dere satire

Bharatchandra

[69] Example of Totaka (TSR)

dwija bharatta totaka chanda bhane
bakiraja kahe yata gaura jane

Bhāratachandra

[70] Example of Mandākrāntā (ISR)

pīŋgāl bīhbāl byǎthĭtǎ nǎbhǎtāl,
kāi gǒ kāi mēgh ŭday hāo

[Satyendranāth Datta

[71] Example of Rucira (ISR)

tǎkhān_kĕbāl bhǎrĭchĕ gǎgān ñūtān mĕghĕ
kǎdām-kǒrāk dŭlĭchĕ bā̌dāl bā̌tās lĕgĕ

[Satyendranāth Datta

[72] Example of Dactyl (ISR)

Oi) śindhur ṭip śıṃhal dwīp
´ ´ ´
kañcanmay des

[Satyendranāth Datta

Dialects: West Birbhum

1.0 Introduction

2.0 Signs

3.0 Phonology

- 3.1 Palatalisation
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- 4.1 Case suffix *-ke*
- 4.2 Postpositions
- 4.3 Person-markers, *-om*, *-ek*
- 4.4 Substantive verb $\sqrt{\text{bɔṭ}}$
- 4.5 Negative verb $\sqrt{\underline{\text{lar}}}$
- 4.6 Impersonal verbs

2.0 Abbreviations and signs

Consonants	C
Flaps	
pre-palatal	ṛ
post-palatal	ṙ
Glottalisation	C?
Length	V·
Palatalisation	V^{+}
Standard Colloquial Bengali	SCB
Stress	$\overset{\mid}{V}$
Velarisation	V^{++}
Vowels	V
West Birbhum Dialect	W. Bir.

Relevant Bengali items are underlined, except transliterated forms.

3.0 Phonology

3.1 Palatalisation

3.1.1 Only e, o and a are palatalised in this dialect, and the latter two have contrast with the corresponding non-palatalised series in the monosyllabic morpheme. e is always palatalised in monosyllables; and e and o are palatalised before the high vowel series.

3.1.2 Distinctive palatalisation:
a, o in contrast with a+, o+

3.1.2.1 minimal pairs for a, a+

1) as 'hope'
ẵ + s 'scale of fish'
2) kẵd 'shoulder'
kẵ + d 'bunch'
3) kan 'ear'
ka + n 'growth (of plant)'
4) cal 'thatched roof'
ca + l 'rice'
5) pal 'batch'
pa + l 'bush'
6) bẵc 'to live, exist'
bẵ + c 'a form of hiring of cattle'

7) mat 'defeat'
ma + t 'kernel'

3.1.2.2 Minimal pairs for o, o$^+$

(Some analogical or semi-minimal pairs are also included here.)

1) ol 'arum'
o$^+$l 'discipline'
2) khol 'cover'
kho$^+$l 'oil cake'
3) gol 'round'
go$^+$l 'cattle-shed'
4) jot 'yoke'
co$^+$t 'the month of Chaitra'
5) bol 'speech'
bo$^+$l 'fragrance'
6) bhõs 'a bound-stem meaning worthless or the like; cf. bal-bhõs 'big turtle'; bhõs-seali 'a female fox'.
bho$^+$s 'buffalo'
7) moṛ 'crossing'
mo$^+$r 'out (in a game)'

3.1.3 Automatic palatalisation:

3.1.3.1 *e* = *e*$^+$

kẽd = kẽ$^+$d	'a kind of tree'
pec = pe$^+$c	'behind'

3.1.3.2 e, o (= *e*$^+$, *o*$^+$) before high series

e (= *e*$^+$)

kẽco	(=kẽ$^+$co)	'earthworm'
kẽṛe	(=kẽ$^+$ṛe)	'a pail'
ghẽṭu	(=ghe$^+$tṭu)	'a wild plant bearing fragrant flowers'
cheto	(=che$^+$to)	'impure'
ṭepi	(=ṭe$^+$pi)	'a girl's name'
pẽce	(=pẽ$^+$ci)	'a girl's name'
seto	(=se$^+$to)	' traveler's guide'

3.1.4 From the above illustrations it may be concluded now that the palatalisation feature is phonemic in this dialect. We may either choose to have two palatalised phonemes, viz. *A* for palatalised *a*, and *O* for palatalised *o*, or we may interpret these as vowel clusters considering the palatalisation feature as a distinct phoneme (here it is marked as +). However, the latter is adopted here, in accordance with the common practice of considering nasalisation, aspiration, etc., as supra-segments.

It might be added here that so long as this phoneme is always found in the monosyllable before a final consonant we may consider this palatalisation feature as an ordinary *i*; thus we would have two special dipthongs (i.e. *ai*, *oi*, instead of $\underline{a}^{+}$, $\underline{o}^{+}$) which occur before consonants in the monosyllable. In other words, *i* followed by a consonant in a monosyllable makes the preceding *a*, *o* palatalised. However this interpretation needs further study before we reject the palatalisation as phonemic.

3.2 Velarisation

Velarisation is found always accompanied by post-palatal retroflex *ṙ*; and only two examples show such features, viz.

joṛ	'streamlet created by sudden downpour'
jo≠ṙ	'fig tree'
moṛ	'crossing'
mo≠ṙ	'wedding hat'

It would be noticed that this dialect has two flaps, viz. pre-palatal retroflex ṛ, and post-palatal retroflex ṙ. If we consider velarised ɔ̲ (here it is marked as ɔ̲ ≠) as a phoneme then the accompanied post-palatal retroflex ṙ is just an allophone of ṛ. As discussed in the previous section, the velarisation could be treated as a supra-segment (≠).

3.3 Length and stress

3.3.1 Stress is always accompanied by length, while length occurs by itself, but unstressed length is predictable in this dialect. Lexical stress, is found to occur only with ɔ̲ and æ̲ (low vowels).

Predictable length is to be found in these two places:

(i) in monosyllables; and

(ii) in the final syllable of a polysyllabic item.

This coincides with the SCB feature. But, this dialect, in addition, has contrast between stressed and unstressed monosyllables, e.g.

kɔ.	= SCB kɔ.(y)
k?ɔ̍.	= SCB koa
pɔ.	'a big jar'
p?ɔ̍	'sapling'
bɔl	'strength'
bɔ.l	'sheat fish'

etc.

3.3.2 In items (here disyllables) other than monosyllables, contrast is found between the stressed long vowels and the unstressed short vowels in the initial position. Long vowels alone do not occur by themselves in this position. The final syllable preceded by a stress in polysyllabic items is not long. It is to be noted here that the SCB final vowels are always longer than the preceding ones.

cɔṭa	'angry, mad'
c?ɔ̍·ṭa	'place-name (of a village)'
phɛri	as in phera-phɛri
p?ɛ̍·ri	'name of a girl'
pɛ·ra	'a milk-cake'
pɛ̍·ra	'guava'
bɔṛa	'fried cake'
bɔ̍·ṛa	'one of the three fruits (triphalā) used as medicine, belerica myrobalan'

etc.

3.4 Post-palatal retroflex ṙ

ṙ is a flap, and is formed by the flapping of the tip of the tongue that curls back and goes to the soft palate. This postpalatal ṙ is different from the SCB flap ṛ in which case the tongue-tip curls back and goes only to the front part of the hard palate. However, the postpalatal ṙ is treated here as an allophone of ṛ in the environment as follows:

ṛ ---> V≠ṙ ;

Vṛ

(See Velarisation, 3.2, for illustrations).

3.5 Weak glottalisation C?

Initial unvoiced stops are slightly glottalised in the stressed syllables.

As stress is considered as phonemic in this dialect, the glottalisation feature is treated as an allophone of C and it is predictable in the following environment:

C (unvoiced) $\overset{'}{V}$ ---> C?$\overset{'}{V}$

3.6 *SCB* *s, š*

SCB *s*, which is found in the borrowed words from English, is presently a phonemic feature, e.g.

baš	'dwelling'
bas	'omnibus'

Splitting of *š* into *s* and *š* is not established in this dialect.

3.7 *Aspirate stops*

3.7.1 SCB has contrast between *C* and *Ch* in all positions. But this dialect has such contrast only in the initial position, as in

bat	'rheumatism'
bhat	'cooked rice'

but not in other positions. In other words, the aspirate stops do not occur in the intervocalic and final positions in this dialect. Dialectal and corresponding SCB forms would illustrate this situation.

3.7.2 Intervocalic

SCB	*maji*	Bir.	*maji*	'(I shall) clean'
SCB	*majhi*	Bir.	*maji*	'boatman, a Santal (Bir.)'
SCB	*sobar*	Bir.	*sobar*	'of all'
SCB	*sɔbhar*	Bir.	*sɔbar*	'of the meeting'

etc.

3.7.3 Final

SCB	*kaṭ*	--->	Bir.	*kaṭ*	'(you) cut'
SCB	*kaṭh*	--->	Bir.	*kaṭ*	'wood'
SCB	*kãd*	--->	Bir.	*kãd*	'(you) weep'
SCB	*kãdh*	--->	Bir.	*kãd*	'shoulder'

etc.

SCB	*kach*	--->	Bir.	*kac*
SCB	*mach*	--->	Bir.	*mac*
SCB	*labh*	--->	Bir.	*lab*

4.0 Morphology

4.1 Case suffix -*ke*

4.1.1 In place of SCB -*e ~ -y*, -*ke* is used in purposive constructions, e.g.

se *ghɔr-ke* *jabe* 'he shall go home, he shall proceed towards home'

se *ætokkhon* *bolpur-ke* *dhɔro-dhɔro* *hoyece*
'he, by this time, has almost approached Bolpur (a town)'

4.1.2 -*ke*, in place of SCB -*e ~ -y*, -*te*, -*diye*

kɔt-ke *kinli*? 'how much have you spent (for it)?'

= SCB *kɔtoy*, *kɔtote*, *kɔto* *diye* *kinli*?

4.2 Postpositions

4.2.1 *tɔre* 'for' (= SCB jonne)

se *amar* *tɔre* *eṭa* *enece* (= SCB *se* *amar* *jonne* *eṭa* *enece*)
'he has brought it for me'

(*tɔre*, a Middle Bengali postposition, is still used in poetic Bengali).

4.2.2 *baccie* 'for' (= SCB jonne)

se *amar* *baccie* *bose* *ace* 'he is waiting for me'

(= SCB *se* *amar* *jonne* *bose* *ache*)

4.2.3 *mane* 'than, to' (= SCB *cee*, *theke*)

The function is the same as *koṭṭe* (2), e.g.

se amake mane boṛo 'he is senior to me'

4.2.4 *lege* 'for' (= poetic Bengali *lāgiyā*)

The function of *lege* is the same as that of *tore* (illustrated above, 4.2.1), e.g.

tar tore (=SCB *tar jonne*) 'for him'

etc.

4.3 *Person-markers* -*om*, -*ek*

4.3.1 I person-marker in the verb: -*om*

SCB I person-marker *-am ~ -um* in the past tenses is replaced by -*om* in this dialect. The resultant forms are as follows:

Simple past:	*khelom*, *gelom*, etc.
Habitual past:	*khetom*, *jetom*, etc.

4.3.2 III person-marker in the verb: -*ek*

SCB III person-marker *-e ~ -o* in the simple past and future tenses is replaced by -*ek* in this dialect. The resultant forms are as follows:

Simple past:	*dilek*, *khelek*, etc.
Simple future:	*debek*, *khabek*, etc.

(In this dialect, -*ek* is used in the simple present tense in III person but only with a single stem, viz. √*bɔṭ* 'to be'. See below.)

4.4 Substantive verb √*bɔṭ*

√*bɔṭ* 'to be', a substantive stem, is extensively used in this dialect. However, this stem is defective in the sense that it is used only in the simple present tense; and the resultant forms are as follows:

I	Person	*boṭi*
II	Person	
	Close affectionate:	*boṭis*
	Ordinary:	*bɔṭo*
II and III	Person	
	Honorific:	*bɔṭen*
III	Person	
	Ordinary:	*bɔṭek*

-*ek* of *bɔṭek* may be treated as an allomorph of -*ek* (III person-marker in the past and future tenses) of the previous section.

4.5 Negative verb √*lar* and the double negative.

√*lar*, a Middle Bengali negative verb, still exists in poetic Bengali in the form of √*nar*, but does not appear in SCB. However, W. Birbhum speakers use this stem very extensively. Even the double negative (due to folk etymology), in the form of *lallom-na*, *larbo-na*, etc. is still in use.

4.6 Impersonal verbs

The verb phrases, in the form of noun plus finite verb, that always take the III person-markers, are called here impersonal verbs. SCB has this category of verb phrases, viz. *bhalo laga*, *mondo laga*, etc. The extensive use of such verb phrases is one of the chief characteristics of this dialect. Examples are as follows:

4.6.1 Noun + *kɔra*

jar kɔra (= SCB *sit kɔra*) 'to feel cold'

ḍaha kɔra (= SCB *jala kɔra*) 'to have a burning sensation'

4.6.2 Noun + *dhɔra*

khal dhɔra	'to be seized with cramps'

4.6.3 Noun + *pɔṛa*

keliṭi pɔṛa =	'to subside' (ref. ill fame)
thamal pɔṛa	'to stagnate'

4.6.4 Noun + *laga*

opos laga	'to be sick due to fasting'
bhabki laga	'to be confused'

4.6.5 Noun + hɔ (= SCB *hɔwa*)

kãd hɔ	'to be accustomed to bear the yoke on the shoulder'

Dialects: Dacca

1.0 In and around Dacca, three quite different varieties of Bengali are heard. The Chalit itself, standard modern Bengali, is spoken much the same as in Calcutta, but only within the college educated upper middle classes. The older resident lower classes in Dacca city speak pidgin Urdu and a kind of Bengali known as Kuṭṭi /kuṭṭi/ 'belonging to the fort'. The Kuṭṭi dialect will not, however, be described in this chapter. The lower middle classes around and in Dacca speak what is labelled here the Dacca dialect, though this is far less uniform in usage than any brief description will suggest. The Dacca dialect happens to be mutually intelligible with the dialects of the greater part of East Pakistan and large areas of West Bengal, and is a good introduction to their study.

1.1 There is also greater familiarity in East Pakistan with Urdu, Persian and Arabic, and this often shows up in the pronunciation of words recognizable as borrowings from these languages, e.g. or may be pronounced as [nʌzr] instead of the more general /nɔzor ~ nɔjor/

'supervision',   may be pronounced as [xa<ti$^{V}{}_{r}$] instead of the more general /khatir/ 'credit, appreciation'.

1.2 The phoneme inventory differs from that of Chalit in some respects /e o/ are slightly lower in quality, e.g. /rel/ 'railway' [rɛl] /pol/ 'bridge' [pɔl]. The semi-vowels /y w Y W/ do not contrast, being predictable variants of /i u e o/, e.g. /dhai/ 'midwife' /dai/ 'responsible' both with [y ~ i]. Nasal vowels do not occur. /r/ is a trilled plosive. /ṛ/ does not occur, except as random over-correction for /r/. /ŋ/ occurs only at syllable final, e.g. /rɔŋ/ 'color, paint' /paŋkha/ 'fan'. Voiceless fricative /h/ does not occur, but there is a glottal trill which will be written here with the same symbol, e.g. /hat/ 'hand' /ḍāhuk/ 'a kind of waterfowl'. There is also a breathy glottal fricative /ḥ/, e.g. /ḥat/ 'seven' /maḥu/ 'spindle'. /kh ph/ vary freely between aspirated plosives and pure fricatives, e.g. /khāṭ/ 'bedstead' /ḍakhni/ 'cover for utensil' /bokh/ 'chest, breast' /phɔi̇/ 'fruit' /mapha/ 'to measure' /paph/ 'sin'. /k/ is often perceptibly voiced or fricativized in its release, e.g.

/kɔlɔm/ 'pen'. /ṭh th/ are plosives immediately followed by rather short glottal trill, e.g. /ṭhoŋga/ 'paper bag' /thal/ 'plate, dish' . /gh ḍh dh bh/ are plosives immediately followed by slightly longer glottal trill, e.g. /ghora/ 'horse' /ḍhila/ 'loose' /dhan/ 'unhusked rice' /bhat/ 'cooked rice'; in some areas, there may be instead of the trill, a contrastive low pitch, in other areas a rising pitch. /ṭh dh/ are often articulated with a lengthening of the plosive instead of the glottal trill. /gh bh/ may in some areas be pure fricative. Lamino-palatal hushing-release /c j/ do not occur, but there are apico-dental hissing sibilants freely varying with affricated plosives [ts dz], which may be written here with the same symbols /c j/, and which contrast with lamino-alveolar /s z/, e.g. /cai/ 'I want it' /sai/ 'ash' /kac/ 'glass' /kas/ 'near'.

In the closely related dialect of Kishorganj in South Eastern Mymensing, there is no contrastive /ɛ/, and /o/ is infrequent. There is merger between /o/ and /ɔ/ in favor of the former before /i u/, e.g. /kɔra/ 'to do something' /kori/ 'I do it' /koruk/ 'let him do it', and in favor of the latter before /e o/, e.g. /dhoa/ 'to wash something' /dhɔo/ 'you wash it' /dhɔe/ 'he washes it'. /i o Y W/ are not contrastive. A rather front /š/ occurs as well as a dorsopalatal hushing /ž/, e.g. /ažo/ 'you come'. Nasalization seems to be absent, but /m/ is often a fricative if after a vowel. /ṛ/ is absent and /ŋ/ is highly restricted. There is a retroflex apicoalveolar nasal stop, e.g. /aṇa/ 'to bring something' /uṇi/ 'yonder person'. While /ch jh/ do not occur, replaced by /s j/ respectively, there is apparently no contrast between /j/ and /z/ in favor of the fricative sound. Although the distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds is maintained in the aspirated stops, /k c t ṭ p/ differ from /g j d ḍ b/ only as stops from fricatives, both sets partially and variably voiced.

1.3 Two important characteristics of the Dacca dialect are that syllable postnuclei are permitted of the type /XQ/, when /X/ stands for a second vowel of a vowel cluster, phonetically a semivowel, and /Q/ stands for a consonant, and that a second vowel /i// disappears as vowel leaving the prenucleus and the nucleus vowel of the succeeding syllable palatalized, e.g. /toil/ [toyl] 'oil' /phouz/ [phowz] 'army' /kɔed/ [kɔʏd] 'imprisonment, imprisoned' /ḥɔon/ [ḥɔWn] 'becoming, happening' /maia/ [mai̭.i̭a<<] 'girl' /jania/ [dzai̭n^{i}.i̭a<] 'having known it' /thakite/ [t?ai̭k^{i}.t^{i}ε^] 'in order to stay'. In some areas, however, there is no palatalization, only a nonsyllabic /i/ after the vowel of the first syllable, e.g. /jania/ [dzai̭.na] /thakite/ [t?aik.te]. Another variety is [dzai̭n.na], [bai̭ṭ.ṭa] etc.

In the neighboring Kishorganj dialect, a second syllable /u/ behaves in a way analogous to a second syllable /i/, that is, it disappears leaving the preceding consonant velarized, though unrounded, e.g. /ažua/ 'to come' /aguan/ 'to advance'. It is not possible to treat these cases as evidence for fricative /y w/, though such might have existed in an earlier stage of history.

1.4 In intonation, a striking feature is the use in questions of terminal long high-to-low glide /32/, e.g.

$/\overset{2}{\text{a}}\text{phne}\ \overset{2}{\text{k}}\text{i} + \text{t}\overset{2}{\text{a}}\text{k}\overset{2}{\text{e}} + {'}\text{c}\overset{2}{\text{i}}\text{n}\overset{\underline{32}}{\text{en}} \neq /$ 'Do you know him?'

1.5 A complete set of correspondences between the Chalit and the Dacca forms would be too long to include here, and in view of the considerable body of irregularities, not too useful, unless to the historical linguist. A few may be inferred from the data above. The following deserve special mention:

Chalit /u/ corresponds to Dacca /u/ or to Dacca /o/, e.g.

Chalit /buṛi/ Dacca /bur / 'old woman'

Chalit /mukh/ Dacca /mok/ 'face, mouth'

Chalit /e/ corresponds to Dacca /e/, Dacca /a/ or Dacca /ɛ/, e.g.

Chalit /rel/ Dacca /rel/ 'railway'

Chalit /miche/ Dacca /misa/ 'falsehood'

Chalit /peṭ/ Dacca /pɛṭ/ 'stomach'

Chalit /o/ corresponds to Dacca /o/, Dacca /a/ or to Dacca /ɔ/, e.g.

Chalit /coṭ/ Dacca /coṭ/ 'hurt, strike'

Chalit /muṭho/ Dacca /muḍa/ 'fist'

Chalit /kɔro/ Dacca /kɔrɔ/ 'you do it'

Chalit /a/ corresponds to Dacca /a/ or to Dacca /ɛ/, e.g.

Chalit /ṭaka/ Dacca /ṭɛḥa/ 'rupee, money'

Chalit /ch/ corresponds to Dacca /s/, e.g.

Chalit /chay/ Dacca /sai/ 'ash'
Chalit /ache/ Dacca /ase/ 'he is there'

Chalit /j/ corresponds to Dacca /j/ or to Dacca /z/, e.g.

Chalit /jɔr/ Dacca /zɔr/ 'fever'
Chalit /je/ Dacca /ze/ 'that particular'

Chalit /jh/ corresponds to Dacca /z/ or to Dacca /zḥ/, e.g.

Chalit /majh/ Dacca /maz ~ mazḥ/ 'middle'
Chalit /majhi/ Dacca /mazḥi/ 'boatman'

Chalit /š/ corresponds to Dacca /ḥ/ at word initial, rarely elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /šak/ Dacca /ḥag/ 'spinach'
Chalit /maš/ Dacca /maš/ 'month'
Chalit /mɔša/ Dacca /mɔša/ 'mosquito'
Chalit /bɔša/ Dacca /bɔwa ~ bɔḥa/ 'sitting'
Chalit /aše/ Dacca /aḥe/ 'he comes'

Chalit /k/ corresponds to Dacca /g ḥ/ between vowels, Dacca /k/ at word initial or after voiceless consonant, Dacca /kh g/ elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /šɔkol/ Dacca /ḥɔgɔl/ 'all'
Chalit /ḍhaka/ Dacca /ḍhakhna/ 'utensil cover'
Chalit /šak/ Dacca /ḥag/ 'spinach'
Chalit /buk/ Dacca/ bokh/ 'breast, chest'
Chalit /maku/ Dacca /maḥu/ 'spindle'

Chalit /p/ corresponds to Dacca /p/ at word initial or after voiceless consonant, to /ph/ elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /pul/ Dacca /pol/ 'bridge'
Chalit /dhappa/ Dacca /dhappa/ 'bluff'
Chalit /šap/ Dacca /ḥaph/ 'snake'
Chalit /ṭupi/ Dacca /ṭuphi/ 'a hat, a cap'

Chalit /ṭ/ corresponds to Dacca /ḍ/ between vowels, to Dacca /ṭ/ elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /paṭ/ Dacca /paṭ/ 'jute'
Chalit /ṭaṭka/ Dacca /ṭaṭka/ 'fresh'
Chalit /moṭor/ Dacca /mɔḍɔr/ 'motor car'

Chalit /kh/ corresponds to Dacca /k/ at word end, Dacca /kh/ at word initial and before or after a nasal, and to Dacca /ḥ/ between vowels, e.g.

Chalit /mukh/ Dacca /mok/ 'mouth, face'
Chalit /khacche/ Dacca /khaitase/ 'he is eating'
Chalit /pakhna/ Dacca /pakhna/ 'wing'
Chalit /makhon/ Dacca /maḥɔn/ 'butter'

Chalit /gh/ corresponds to Dacca /gh/ at word initial, and to Dacca /g/ anywhere else, e.g.

Chalit /ghoṛa/ Dacca /ghora/ 'horse'
Chalit /bagh/ Dacca /bag/ 'tiger'
Chalit /bagha/ Dacca /baga/ 'tiger-like'

Chalit /ph/ corresponds to Dacca /ph/ in all positions.

Chalit /bh/ corresponds to Dacca /bh/ at word initial and to Dacca /b/ anywhere else, e.g.

Chalit /bhat/ Dacca /bhat/ 'cooked rice'
Chalit /labh/ Dacca /lab/ 'profit'

Chalit /ṭh/ corresponds to Dacca /ṭh/ at word initial, to Dacca /ḍ/ between vowels, and to Dacca /ṭ/ before the sequence /ia/ and anywhere else, e.g.

Chalit /ṭhakur/ Dacca /ṭhahur/ 'Brahmin, (woman's) father-in-law, god'
Chalit /miḍhe/ Dacca /miḍa/ 'sweet'
Chalit /uṭhe/ Dacca /uṭia/ 'having arisen'
Chalit /piṭh/ Dacca /piṭ/ 'back of body'

Chalit /ḍh/ corresponds to Dacca /ḍh/ at word initial.

Chalit /ḍhaka/ Dacca /ḍhaḥa/ 'Dacca'

Chalit /th/ corresponds to Dacca /th/ at word initial, and to Dacca /t/ elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /thal/ Dacca /thal/ 'plate, dish'
Chalit /kɔtha/ Dacca /kɔta/ 'proposition'
Chalit /pɔth/ Dacca /pɔt/ 'way'

Chalit /dh/ corresponds to Dacca /dh/ at word initial, and to Dacca /d/ elsewhere, e.g.

Chalit /dhan/ Dacca /dhan/ 'unhusked rice'
Chalit /dudh/ Dacca /dud/ 'milk'
Chalit /modhu/ Dacca /modu/ 'honey'

1.6 Demonstratives

/ɛmon ~ ɛmun/ 'this manner' /ɛḥon/ 'now' /eiḍa 'this piece' /eigula/ 'these things'. No /e/ occurs

/ɔmon ~ ɔmun/ 'that manner' /oḥane/ 'there' /oiḍa/ 'that piece' /oigula/ 'those things'. No /o/ occurs.

/zɛmon ~ zɛmun/ 'that particular manner' /zeiḍa/ 'that particular piece' /zeigula/ 'those particular things' /zemne/ 'in that manner'

/šɛmon ~ šɛmun ~ ḥɛmon ~ ḥɛmun/ 'that very manner' /šeiḍa ~ ḥeiḍa/ 'that very piece' /šeigula ~ ḥeigula/ 'those very things' /temne/ 'in such a manner'

1.7 Pronouns:

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	First	ami	amra
	Second Ordinary	tumi	tomra
	Familiar	tui~toi	tɔra~tora
	Honorific	aphńe~amne	aphnera~amnera
	Third Ordinary Masculine	ḥæ~še	ḥɛra~tara

	Feminine	tai	taira
	Honorific Masculine	te~tani~tini	tara~tanira~ tenara
	Feminine	ḥatai~ḥɛtai	ḥataira~ḥɛtaira
	First	amare	amago~amgo~ aŋgo~amrare
	Second Ordinary	tomare	tomago~tomgo~ toŋgo~tomrare
	Familiar	tore	togo~torare
	Honorific	aphnere~amnere	aphnegɔ~amnegɔ
	Third Ordinary Masculine	ḥɛre~tare	ḥɛgɔ~karare
	Feminine	taire	taigɔ
	Honorific Masculine	tare~tanire~ tenare	tago~tanigo~ tenarare
	Feminine	ḥataire~ḥɛtaire	ḥataigo~ḥɛtaigo
Genitive	First	amar	amago~aŋgo~amrar
	Second Ordinary	tomar	tomagɔ~tomgo~ toŋgo~tomrar
	Familiar	tɔr~toar	tɔgo~torar
	Honorific	aphner~amner	aphnegɔ~amnegɔ
	Third Ordinary Masculine	ḥɛr~tar	ḥɛgɔ~tarar
	Feminine	tair	taigɔ
	Honorific Masculine	tar~tanir~tenar	tagɔ~tangɔ~ tenarar
	Feminine	ḥatair~ḥɛtair	ḥataigɔ~ḥɛtaigɔ

1.8 Three special directives may also be noted here. /dia/ [da~dda] occurs after the dative in the sense of [da~d́da~ḏ̯ia~dia] 'by agency of, via', e.g. /amaredia/ 'by me'; /the ther thette theia thene thɔne/ occur after the genitive in the sense of 'from' e.g. /ḥɛthe/ [ḥɛt?e^] or[ḥɛt.te^] 'from him'; /lagia/ occurs after the genitive in the sense of 'for the sake of'.

1.9 Verb suffixes

The form used unrestrictedly as the nominal is with verb suffix /on/ after monosyllabic and /n/ after bisyllabic stems. e.g. /kɔron/ 'to do, to make' /zanan/ 'to inform'. This suffix corresponds to an unproductive derivative suffix of the same shape in Chalit.

VS-1 is as in Chalit, but forms an unproductive derivative suffix in Dacca dialect, e.g. /lɛḥa/ 'writing'.

VS-2 is /iba/, used only with the genitive case. Deuteronominal.

VS-3 is /ite/. Durative.

VS-4 is /ile/. Contingenitive.

VS-5 is /ia/. Conjunctive.

One should note again that in these suffixes the /i/ is phonetically merely a signal for palatalization, not a syllable nucleus.

VS-6 is zero, as in Chalit. Imperative, second person familiar.

VS-7 is /io/. Hortative, second person ordinary.

There is a special suffix VS-7B /ien/ meaning an honorific counterpart to the hortative second person imperative VS-7, and a special suffix VS-7C /iš/ meaning the familiar second person counterpart.

VS-8 is /ɔk/. Hortative, third person ordinary.

VS-9 does not occur.

VS-10 is /i/. Present tense, first person.

VS-11 is /ɔš/. Present tense, second person familiar.

VS-12 is /ɔ/. Present tense, second person ordinary.

VS-13 is /e/. Present tense, third person ordinary.

VS-14 is /en/. Present tense, second or third person honorific.

VS-15 is /mu/ after vowel, and /um/ after consonant. Future, I.

VS-16 is /bi/. Future, II F.

VS-17 is /ba/. Future, II O.

VS-18 is /bo/. Future, III O.

VS-19 is /ben/. Future, H.

VS-20 is /tam/ only. Conditional, I.

VS-21 is /ti/. Conditional, II F.

VS-22 is /ta/. Conditional, II O.

VS-23 is /tɔ/. Conditional, III O.

VS-24 is /ten/. Conditional, H.

VS-25 is /lam/ only. Past, I.

VS-26 is /li/. Past, II F.

VS-27 is /la/. Past, II O.

VS-28 does not occur.

VS-29 is /lɔ/. Past, III O.

VS-30 is /len/. Past, H.

VS-31 is /tɛsi/. Present Continuous, I.

VS-32 is /tasɔt/ or /tɛsiš/. Pr. Cont., II F.

VS-33 is /tɛso/. Pr. Cont., II O.

VS-34 is /tɛse/. Pr. Cont., III O.

VS-35 is /tɛsen/. Pr. Cont., H.

VS-36 is /tɛsilam/. Past Cont., I.

VS-37 is /tɛsili/. Past Cont. II F.

VS-38 is /tɛsila/. Past Cont., II O.

VS-39 is /tɛsilo/ or /tasil/. Past Cont., III O.

VS-40 is /tɛsilen/. Past Cont., H.

VS-41 is /si/. Present Perfect, I.

VS-42 is /sɔt/ or siš/. Present Perf., II F.

VS-43 is /so/. Pr. Perf., II O.

VS-44 is /se/. Pr. Perf., III O.

VS-45 is /sen/. Pr. Perf., H.

VS-46 is /silam/. Past Perf., I.

VS-47 is /sili/. Past Perf., II F.

VS-48 is /sila/. Past Perf., II O.

VS-49 is /silo/ or /sil/. Past Perf., III O.

VS-50 is /silen/. Past Perf. H.

In the closely related Kishorganj dialect, the correspondents to the /ch/ suffixes of the standard and the /s/ suffixes of Dacca are found with /z/, e.g. /korzilam/.

1.10 There is some amount of verb stem variation, though far less than in the Chalit. For one example, the verb /kɔron/ 'to do, to make' has the stem /kɔr/ for all suffixes except the following, for which its stem form is /kor/:

VS-2	e.g.	/koriba/ [koi̭r^{i}.ba].
VS-3	e.g.	/korite/.
VS-4	e.g.	/korile/.
VS-5	e.g.	/koria/.
VS-7	e.g.	/korio/.
VS-7B	e.g.	/korien/.
VS-7C	e.g.	/koriš/.

Dialects: Chittagong

1.0 The speech of Chittagong is perhaps the least widely understood by the majority of Bengalis. Its extreme deviation is due, not to the vocabulary which is almost wholly eastern Indo-aryan and indeed in some respects a little closer to the western neighbors of the standard Bengali, but to the phonology. The description here is based on inadequate sampling and equally inadequate analysis, but will provide some orientation.

1.1 Syllable initials

Zero. e.g. /urɔn/ 'to fly' /ɔlfɔ/ 'a little' /fata/ 'leaf' /fɔɔna/ 'ripe'

/m/ bilabial nasal stop. e.g. /meg/ 'cloud' /ma/ 'mother'

/n/ apicoalveolar nasal stop. e.g. /nam/ 'name' /nariburi/ 'guts'

/ŋ/ dorsovelar nasal stop. e.g. /$^{\text{v}}$baŋŋa/ 'broken' Cf. /ḥɔŋge/ 'with'

/r/ laminopalatal trill, not fricativized. e.g. /rɔgtɔ/ 'blood' /rait/ 'night'

/l/ apicoalveolar lateral stop. e.g. /$^{\text{v}}$lɔḍi/ 'stick' /latura/ 'child'

/c/ apicoalveolar hissing sibilant, never affricated. e.g. /cog/ 'eye' /^{V}fɔ̆ca/ 'rotten'

/j/ voiced counterpart of above. e.g. /jɔ̆g/ 'leech' /jiran/ 'to rest'

/s/ laminoprepalatal hissing sibilant, hushified and affricated after /t/. e.g. /sabɔn/ 'to chew' /kisu/ 'some' /batsa/ [ttš] 'child'

/z/ voiced counterpart of above, hushified and affricated after /c t d r/. e.g. /ziniš/ 'goods' /tod ziniš [ddž] 'your goods' /fă̄c zɔn/ 'five persons' /ˇxatyɔ zayon/ or /ˇxaydzim/ 'I shall go to eat' /zamay/ 'husband' /urza/ 'straight'

/f/ voiceless bilabial fricative. e.g. /fɔrua/ 'day after tomorrow, day before yesterday' /^{V}fɔl/ 'fruit'

/ḅ/ voiced counterpart of above. e.g. /ḅaḅɔna/ 'thought, worry' /bhaḅa/ 'father'

/b/ voiced counterpart of above. e.g. /bakub/ 'stupid' /^bɔrxi/ 'fishing hook'

/x/ voiceless dorsovelar fricative. e.g. /xinɔn/ 'to buy' /^{V}xuyn/ 'murder'

/k/ voiceless dorsovelar stop. e.g. /kŭ̄ur/ 'dog' /kisu/ 'some'

/g/ voiced dorsovelar stop freely varying with the fricative. e.g. /gɔndɔ/ 'smell' /gunɔn/ 'to count'

/ṭ/ voiceless retroflex alveolar stop. e.g. /ṭanɔn/ 'to pull' /ṭunṭuni/ 'tailor bird'

/ḍ/ voiced counterpart of above. e.g. /ḍɔr/ 'fear' /ḍugḍugi/ 'small drum'

/t/ voiceless apicodental stop. e.g. /tara/ 'star' /tal/ 'palm fruit'

/d/ voiced counterpart of above. e.g. /din/ 'day' /dɔri/ 'rope'

/h/ glottal trill. e.g. /^{V}hat/ 'hand' /haḍ/ 'rural marketplace'

/ḥ/ voiced glottal fricative, not breathy as in Dacca, but a murmur, releases any preceding /r/ so as to produce the effect of an inserted /g/ and any other consonant as its geminate. e.g. /^{V}ḥat/ 'seven' /^{V}niḥaš/ 'breathing' /cayrḥan/ [rgḥ] 'four pieces' /thinḥan/ [nnḥ] 'three pieces'

/y/ relatively high front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid, releases any preceding consonant in a manner analogous to that of /ḥ/. e.g. /^thḥɔlya/ [l.ly] 'big bag' /xɔryom/ [xoyrgyom] 'I shall do it' /^{V}bḥikya/ [kæ~kkæ] 'alms'

/w/ relatively high back rounded nonsyllabic vocoid, releases any preceding consonant in a way analogous to that of /y/. e.g. /thinwa/ 'three units' /carwa/ 'four units'

There is a set of implosive syllable initials articulated with the larynx slightly jerking down before an occlusion and perhaps interpretable as clusters with /h/.

/mh/ e.g. /mhaŋšɔ/ 'meat' /^{V}mhata/ 'head'

/nh/ e.g. /nhag/ 'nose' /nhɔdi/ 'river'

/bh/ e.g. /bhazar/ 'urban marketplace' /^{V}bhayt/ 'cooked rice'

/gh/ e.g. /ghum/ 'sleep' /ghora/ 'horse'

/ṭh/ e.g. /^{V}ṭhanḍa/ 'cold' /ṭhag/ 'baldness'

/ḍh/ e.g. /ḍhima/ 'egg' /ḍhubɔn/ 'to sink, to drown'

/th/ e.g. /thin/ 'three' /thal/ 'indulgence'

/dh/ e.g. /^{V}dhan/ 'unhusked rice' /^{V}dhɔrɔndharɔn/ 'manner of conduct'

There is a set of aspirated syllable initials which may be interpreted as clusters with /ḥ/. The voiced set differs from that of the standard insofar as the aspiration element is not voiceless, but a murmur.

/cḥ/ e.g. /^cḥali/ 'ashes' /cḥeb/ 'spit'

/jḥ/ e.g. /ᵛjḥal/ 'hot in taste' /ᵛjḥibba/ 'tongue'

/sḥ/ e.g. /^sḥalam/ 'salaam (a greeting used by Muslims)' /^sḥawl/ 'goat'

/zḥ/ e.g. /ᵛzḥama/ 'burnt brick'

/bhḥ/ e.g. /ˇbhḥašyɔ/ 'common sense' /ˇbhḥalo/ 'good'

/ghḥ/ e.g. /ˇghḥugu/ 'dove' /ghḥunṭi/ 'play kite'

/ṭhḥ/ e.g. /ˇṭhḥelya/ 'branch of a tree' /^ṭhḥelya/ 'water pot'

/ḍhḥ/ e.g. /^ḍhḥulɔyn/ 'a swing' /ˇḍhḥɔgḍhḥag/ 'manner of behavior'

/tḥ/ e.g. /^tḥɔɔn/ 'to stay' /^ṭhaba/ 'paw'

/thḥ/ e.g. /ˇthḥir/ 'quiet' /ˇthḥal/ 'plate'

/dhḥ/ e.g. /ˇdhḥuyl/ 'dust'

There is a set of palatalized syllable initials, non-distinctive if preceded by a syllable final contiining /y/, and distinctive elsewhere. e.g. /Ʒne ^xɔraybak/ [byak] 'You will make someone do it'

There is a set of syllable initials with /w/ as the prevowel. e.g. /ˇnwa/ 'new' /fwa/ 'son'

It is possible that an adequate analysis will modify the above list, especially by reanalyzing /x/ as /kḥ/, /f/ as /pḥ/, and /ḅ/ as /bḥ/.

1.2 Syllable finals

Zero, frequently heard as a glottal stop before pause only. e.g. /fa/ 'foot, leg' /ˇbhalo/ 'good'

/m/ e.g. /bham/ 'leftside'

/n/ e.g. /ran/ 'thigh' /^kẽngɔri/ [keˇn.go.ri] 'how'

/ŋ/ e.g. /rɔŋ/ 'paint, color' /ˇḥuŋna/ 'dry'

/~/ nasalization of the vowel. e.g. /fũ/ 'air blown by mouth'

/r/ replaced automatically by /l/ before /l/, and by /d/ before /t d/. e.g. /zḥɔr/ 'rain' /xɔrtɔk/ [dt ~ tt] 'you please do it' /cãd ar tara/ [ad] 'the moon and the star' /cɔrbi/ [o] 'animal fat' /xɔrlye/ [ll] 'if done'

/l/ e.g. /zɔŋgɔl/ 'forest/

/š/ e.g. /bhataš/ 'wind'

/c/ e.g. /gac/ 'tree' /fãc/ 'five'

/j/ e.g. /^šɔbuj/ 'greed'

/s/ e.g. /khãys/ 'seed used for weighing gold'

/z/ e.g. /lez/ 'tail'

/f/ e.g. /bɔrɔf/ 'ice'

/b/ partly voiceless before pause or voiceless consonant and fully voiced elsewhere. e.g. /hab/ [bp] 'snake' /thabfor/ 'a slap' /ˇjḥibba/ 'tongue'

/g/ partly voiceless before pause or voiceless consonant and fully voiced elsewhere. e.g. /ḍagtɔr/ [gk] 'doctor' /fog/ 'worm' /ugwa/ 'one unit' /fcgɔr/ [g] 'of the worm'

/ṭ/ always voiceless. e.g. /caṭni/ 'pickles'

/ḍ/ partly voiceless before pause, and fully voiced elsewhere. e.g. /mhaḍ/ 'meadow' /mhaḍɔr/ 'of the meadow'

/t/ always voiceless. e.g. /ˇhat/ 'hand' /ˇhatɔr/ 'of the hand'

/d/ always voiced. e.g. /xad/ 'ditch, precipice' /dud/ 'milk'

/ḥ/ e.g. /^leḥ/ 'you (familiar) lick it' /^aḥ/ 'you (fam.) come'

/y/ e.g. /duy/ 'two' /ãy/ 'I'

/w/ e.g. /ˇfaw/ 'lagniappe (bonus at counter for customer)'

Clusters occur with /~ ḥ y w/ as first member. Only before /d ḍ/, /~/ is manifested as /n/, with elision of the /d/ before pause only. e.g.
/cẵd/ [can] 'moon' /cẵdɔr/ [candɔr] 'of the moon'
/˜hẵḍ/ [nḍ] 'you (fam.) walk' /dhẵt/ 'tooth'
/bɔḥr/ 'big' /˜dhḥuyl/ 'dust' /miwr/ 'cat'

A single instance has been found of /w/ as the final element in a cluster. e.g. /˜xajwɔn/ 'to scratch'

An /y/ as syllable final cluster is predictable if another /y/ occurs as the only or the second member of a succeeding syllable initial, and will not be recorded in this transcription.
e.g. /maya/ [y.y] 'girl' /mɔlya/ [yl.ly] 'dirt'

There is no contrast between /uy/ and /wi/ for which two segments share the syllable crest equally. This may be due to the intonational lengthening of a final consonant before pause.
e.g. /tŭ̃y/ or /twĭ̃/ 'you (ordinary)'

1.3 Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded freely varying to high mid, that is, to be lower than in the standard.
e.g. /fiḍ/ 'back of body' /˜asi/ 'I am there'

/e/ mid front unrounded, distinctly lower than the standard except occasionally before pause. e.g. /feḍ/ 'belly' /ˇase/ 'it is there (they are there)' /ḍhew/ 'wave'

/a/ low central, front unrounded next to /y/, back rounded next to /w/, and central unrounded elsewhere. /tara/ 'star' /thinwa/ 'three units' /maya/ 'girl' /^shawl/ 'goat' /^xoraybar lay/ 'in order to make someone do it'

/ɔ/ low back rounded, somewhat higher than the standard, indistinguishable from /o/ if before /y w i u/ in the succeeding syllable. e.g. /xɔrlye/ [oyllye] 'if done' /dɔš/ 'ten' /dɔšwa/ [o] 'ten units' /xɔ xɔn/ 'how many persons' /xɔddur/ [o] 'how far' /xɔddin/ [o] 'how many days' /bhɔwat/ [ɔ] 'much' /^ḍhḥulɔyn/ [ɔ] 'a swing'

/o/ mid back rounded, somewhat higher than the standard, indistinguishable from /u/ if before /y w/ in the same syllable. e.g. /ˇcoḍɔ/ 'small, narrow' /ˇfowj/ [u] 'army' /toy/ [u] 'you familiar)'

/u/ high back rounded. e.g. /cul/ 'hair' /^šurzɔ/ 'sun'

1.4 Intonation and accent

Intonational stresses and lengths are strikingly different from that of the standard in these respects. Isolated syllables before pause are lengthened so as to assign the extra length not to the vowel but to the syllable final. Thus /^bhḥalo/ is there terminated by [?:], /nam/ by [m:] and /nhag/ by [gk:]. Syllable division is controlled, unlike the case in the standard, by the boundary between the stem and the suffix. e.g. /ˇxajw.ɔn/ 'to scratch' /meg.ɔr/ 'of the cloud'

Intonation contours are as follows. Suspenses raise and conclusions lower the final syllable. A question without an interrogative pronoun ends either on a gliding rise from mid to high or on a gliding fall from high to mid. An explanation ends with extra length on the last vowel plus a gliding fall from high to low. A statement ends on a short low to mid rising glide after a falling tone, a short mid to low falling glide after a rising tone, and even pitch after level tone.

There is a system of lexically significant pitch shapes, or tones. An independent word, that is, any word other than a suffix, an enclitic or a grammatical auxiliary, has one and only one contrastive tone. The number of morphemes within the word is not significant. The first tone is dominant in the entire phrase or immediate constituent of clause in the sense that it imposes its characteristic pitch shape upon the whole sequence. The number of syllables in such immediate constituent of clause from the point of tone onset onwards is significant through control of the allophony.

Rising tone, marked /^/ is a rising glide on monosyllables, level pitch on first syllable followed by rising glide on the second syllable in sequences of more than two syllables. e.g. /ɔ̃ne ~ aḥybak/ 'you will come' /ɔ̃ne ~ bɔḥybak/ 'you will sit' /^xer/ 'hay' /^far/ 'hill, mountain' /^farwa/ [gw] 'the mountain' /^faalɔn/ 'to wash' /^kẽngɔri/ [o] 'how' /^bɔrxi bece/ 'he sells fishing hooks' /^tulibar lay/ 'for the sake of lifting it up'

Falling tone, marked /ᵛ/ is a falling glide on monosyllables, level pitch on first syllable followed by falling glide on the second syllable in sequences of more than two syllables. e.g. /ɔ̃ne ᵛḥunibak/ 'you will listen' /ɔ̃ne ᵛhãšibak/

'you will smile' /^{V}xõa/ 'fog' /^{V}hat/ 'hand' /^{V}hatwa/ 'the hand' /^{V}bɔsɔr/ 'year' /^{V}nariburi/ 'guts' /^{V}lɔḍi bece/ 'he sells sticks' /^{V}ḍhalibar lay/ 'for the sake of pouring it out'

Level tone, unmarked in this transcription, is level throughout, except of course for the step changes of pitch due to intonational phenomena. e.g. /am/ 'mango' /fata bece/ 'he sells leaves' /dũuribar lay/ 'for the sake of racing'

1.5 Noun suffixes

Nominative is zero. Genitive is /r/ or /ɔr/, e.g. /bicir/ 'of the seed' /bhoɔr/ 'of the wife'. Dative is /re/ or /ɔre/, e.g. /^ãre/ 'to me' /bhoɔre/ 'to the wife'. Locative is /t/ or /ɔt/, e.g. /bicit/ 'in the seed' /ˇfɔlɔt/ 'in the fruit'. With nouns denoting time, /ua/ indicates a kind of locative, e.g. /xalua/ 'tomorrow', yesterday' /azua/ 'today'

1.6 Noun auxiliaries

Common determiners are: /wa/ e.g. /duwa/ 'two units' /biciwa/ 'the seed, the seed type';

/iba/ or /yba/ e.g. /bhoyba/ 'the wife; /ḥan/ e.g. /fataḥan/ 'the leaf'; /ḥɔl/ e.g. /bhoḥɔl/ 'the wives'; /ḥun/ e.g. /biciḥun/ 'seeds, these seeds, those seeds' /ˇfɔlun/ [ɔ] 'fruits, pieces of fruit'. The anomaly in the last example is not explicable from the limited data gathered, and may lead to a redescription of /ˇlɔḍi fɔrua .../ etc. as /ˇloḍi forua .../ etc.

Common directives are: /lay/ 'for' /xase/ 'near' /thun/ or /thḥun/ 'from' /ḥɔŋge/ 'accompanied by' /mɔdye/ [o] 'among, amidst' /mwikya/ 'towards'

Demonstrative pronouns are: /iba/ 'this thing' /eyḥun/ 'these things' /ite/ 'this person' /itara/ 'these persons' /itãy/ 'this person (honorific)' /enḍe/ 'here' /etɔ/ 'this much' etc.; /ɔyba ɔyḥun o ora .../ are understood but not commonly used; /ˇḥiba ˇḥeyḥun ˇḥite .../ 'that over there, that already mentioned'; /ˇzḥiba ˇzḥeyḥun .../ 'that particular which ...'/

Personal pronouns are:

		I	II F	II O	II H
Nom	sing	^ãy	toy [tuy]	^twĩ	ɔ̃ne
	pl	^ãra	tora	^twãra	ɔ̃nɔra
Gen	sing	^ãr	tor	^twãr	ɔ̃nɔr
	pl	^ãrar	torar	^twãrar	ɔnɔrar

		I	II F	II O	II H
Dat	sing	^ãre	tore	^twãre	ɔ̃nɔre
	pl	^ãrare	torare	^twãrare	ɔ̃nɔrare

1.7 Verb auxiliaries

The negative is formed by prefixing /nɔ/, e.g. /ˇḥenḍe nɔ ˇḍhalibak/ 'you will not pour it there' /^ãy nɔ zayom ma/ 'I shall not go, mother'.

1.8 Verb suffixes

VS-1 is /n/ or /ɔn/ e.g. /jiran/ 'to rest' /diɔn/ 'to give' /^phelan/ 'to throw' /ˇḥunɔn/ 'to listen, to hear' /^bɔḥɔn/ 'to sit' /ˇhãšɔn/ 'to smile, to laugh' /ˇḥunan/ 'to make someone listen' /^ãsurɔn/ 'to swim'

VS-2 occurs under restricted circumstances as /yba/ or /iba/. e.g. /^findibar lay/ 'in order to wear'

VS-3A 'during' is /te/ e.g. /xɔrte/ [xɔtte]

VS-3B 'for' is /tyɔ/ e.g. /xɔrtyɔ/ [xoyttyɔ]

VS-4 is /lye/

VS-5 is /i/

VS-6 is zero

VS-7 does not occur

VS-7B is /tɔk/ 'you (hon.) do it at leisure'

VS-8 is /ɔk/

VS-9 does not occur and is substituted by VS-1

VS-10 is /i/ and indistinguishable from VS-5

VS-11 does not occur and is substituted by VS-6

VS-12 is /ɔ/

VS-13 is /e/

VS-14 does not occur and is substituted by VS-1

VS-15 is /yom/

VS-16 is /ibi/

VS-17 is /iba/

VS-18 is /ibo/

VS-19 is /ibak/

VS-20 is /tyam/

VS-21 is /ti/

VS-22 is /tya/

VS-23 is /tyɔ/

VS-24 is /tyak/

VS-25 is /lyam/

VS-26 is /li/

VS-27 is /lya/

VS-28 does not occur and is substituted by VS-29

VS-29 is /lyɔ/

VS-30 is /lyak/

VS-31 is /ir/

VS-32 is not distinguishable from VS-33

VS-33 is /ɔr/

VS-34 is /er/

VS-35 is /tɔn/

VS-36 through VS-40 do not occur

VS-41 is /yi/

VS-42 is /yɔš/

VS-43 is /yɔ/

VS-44 is /ye/

VS-45 is /yɔn/

VS-46 is /yilam/

VS-47 is /yili/

VS-48 is /yila/

VS-49 is /yil/

VS-50 is /yilak/

The Assamese Language, a sketch.

Though independent from Bengali in terms of politics, Assamese is quite close to it in structure and culture, especially to the older Sadhu standard. It is the native speech of over 5 millions as well as the principal contact language for many tribal populations in and next to Assam. The dialect of Sibsagar district is preferred generally, but is neither as different from nor as dominant over the other dialects as standard Bengali is in relation to its dialects.

The intonation system contrasts a relatively lax pause / ≠ / and a relatively tense /=/. Stressgroup boundary within a pausegroup, or juncture /+/, is both less significant and less frequent than in Bengali. A three way distinction is audible between a plain entry into pause, a slightly prolonged one /:/, and a slightly stopped one /?/. e.g.

/'zene'ral 'ne"uin e := a'xa prɔ'kax "kori'se ?=
ze + 'tas"kent 'alU+sɔ'na e:= 'bharɔt aru +
'pakisthanɔr + 'mazɔt = 'unnɔtɔ bu'zapɔrar "bab e:= /

'general Ne Win has expressed the hope that the Tashkent talks improved relations between India and Pakistan.'

Three pitch levels are contrasted for pre-pause and stressed points, marked here /1 2 3/ from below up. Unstressed points have mid level /2/ and need not be marked. e.g.

```
 2  2    2  2    2      2    2      2    2
/a'zi + ko'liko'tat = 'nεta'zi su"bhas 'sɔndrɔ +

  3 2    2  1      2  2  2      2     3   2  3
'bosur:= ε'ta ?= prɔ'ti'murti + unmU"sɔn ko'ri ?=

  2   2         33
sri 'sastri e 'kɔe = /
```

'Shri Shastri said today after unveiling a statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Basu in Calcutta ...'

```
  2  2    3   2
/tU"mar 'nam ki ≠ /
```

'What is your name?'

```
  2  2     23
/tU'mar "ghɔr ≠ /
```

'And your native place?'

```
   2  2         2      3
/"baktU dhori 'paribɔ'ne? ≠ /
```

'Can't you catch that tiger?'

```
  2  2    3  2  2     31
/pu'tɔla'tU mU'loi a'na :≠ /
```

'Bring that doll to me.'

```
  2  2    2       3   32
/tU'mar 'deutar "nam ki ≠ /
```

'What is your father's name?'

```
   2     2     2  2
/'mUr 'ghɔr + se'lεŋ'
 1 1
hatɔt ≠ /
```

'My native place is at Seleng Hat.'

```
  2  2   2  3  2   3
/tu'mi 'za"ba ne 'ki ≠ /
```

' Will you go?'

```
  3  2      2  2
/'odhik + "gu'ruttɔ'
  3 1
pruno ≠ /
```

' ... is more important.'

2 2 3 2 2 2 2 1
/'e + 'a"kas'bani + 'gU"aha'ti ≠ /

'This is Radio India, Gauhati.'

2 3 2 1
/du"khila ka'goz ≠ /

'Two sheets of paper.'

2 3 2 3
/zUr'hat := zio'zagɔr := /

'Jorhat, Sibsagar ....'

3 2 1 2 2 2 2 3 2 2 3
/'aphri'kat = bri"ten e 'ɔbɔ'lombɔn 'kora + 'ni"tir =

2 3 1
'xɔmalUsɔna + "kɔr e ≠ /

'He criticized the policy adopted by Britain in Africa.'

The stress system has two levels. The stronger stress /"/ is intonational, and is as such a heightening of the lexical stress /'/. Extra stress clips the vowel, prolongs the syllable final, and also glides the pitch sharply downwards. Several lexical stresses may occur within the same stress-group. But some lexical stresses appear to be lost in fast speech, and there is also some morphological variation between speakers, e.g. one informant had /zɔ'baphul/ 'the Hibiscus flower' while the other had /'zɔbaphul/, as well as between intonations, e.g. the same informant had /'dib"brugɔr/ 'the town Dibrugarh' in statements and /dibru'gɔr/

in enumerations. Syllable division is such that the stressed syllable has priority of claim over any odd consonant, e.g. /tɔ.'ka ~ "tɔk.a/ 'rupees'. Since some material without stress indications had to be used for this chapter, the remainder of it will not show stress markings. The rhythm is syllable timed, with each syllable taking about equal time regardless of stress.

Vowels are 8 in number and may be shown on a chart:

	front	back
high	i	u
high mid	e	U
low mid	ɛ	o
low	a	ɔ

Rounding of lips is not significant and often absent for the back vowels. In comparison with the Bengali vowels, Assamese /e U/ are distinctly higher than Bengali /e o/, Assamese /ɛ ɔ/ are slightly higher than Bengali /æ ɔ/, and Assamese /a/ rather more front. e.g. /kiɔ/ 'why' /selɛŋ/ 'scarf' /tɔra/ 'star' /raɔna/ 'started out' /kukur/ 'dog' /lU/ 'iron' /moh/ 'buffalo' /mɔh/ 'mosquito'.

Semivowels do not occur in the most common speech. For persons with family background of Sanskrit learning, /y w/ occur in clusters only. In the stylized declamation of older poetry, they occur freely at syllable initial. e.g. /xio ~ xiwo/ 'the god Siva' /ɔin ~ ɔinnɔ ~ ɔnyɔ/ 'other' /udbeg ~ udweg/ 'anxiety' /khaidɔ ~ khaiddɔ ~ khadyɔ/ 'food' /hɔtta ~ hɔitta ~ hɔtya/ 'killing' /niɔm ~ niyɔm/ 'regulation' . Occurrence at syllable final is not proven.

Nasalization of vowel is contrastive except when next to a nasal consonant, where it is automatic and not freely variant. e.g. /gaɔ̃/ 'village' /ãt/ 'entrails' /kas/ 'to fasten' /kãs/ 'glass'.

Syllable initials and finals are as in Bengali but for the following differences:

/ph bh/ are never fricativized. e.g. /uphi/ 'louse' /zibha/ 'tongue'

/s/ is an apicoalveolar fricative. e.g. /sã/ 'shade' /pis/ 'rear'

/z/ is apicoalveolar fricative freely varying with an affricated stop, with the affricate preferred for stressed initials. e.g. /maz/ 'middle' /ha'zɔrika/ 'the family name Hazarika'

/x/ is a voiceless dorsovelar fricative. e.g. /xɔttor/ 'seventy' /dex/ 'country'

/h/ is a voiced glottal fricative. e.g. /hat/ 'hand' /xih/ 'the metal lead' /manuh/ 'man, mankind'. Note that both /x h/ are permitted at syllable final.

/c ch j jh š ž/ do not occur.

/r/ is a flapped fricative but laminoalveolar. e.g.
/rɔza/ 'king' /aru/ 'and'

/rh/ is aspirated counterpart to /r/ e.g. /pɔrhe/ 'he reads' /kũrh/ 'deep water'

/t th d dh n l/ are also laminoalveolar, that is, more like American English /t d n l/ than like the Bengali or the British ones. e.g. /tɔe/ 'you (familiar rank)' /thutɔri/ 'chin' /dudh/ 'milk' /adha/ 'half' /lɔni/ 'charming'

/ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh r̥/ do not occur, except as marginal interference phenomena.

The entire system may be shown on a chart as follows:

		x		s			
	h			z			
p		k	t		ph	kh	th
b		g	d		bh	gh	dh
			r				rh'
			l				
m		ŋ	n				

Clusters are of the same types as in Bengali, even in the common elision phenomena, e.g. /prakritik drissɔ ~ prakitik dissɔ/ 'natural scenery'.
An important exception is that gemination is not permitted unless the earlier one of the pair is the syllable final of a stressed syllable, e.g. /'reŋ'ŋun/ 'the city Rangoon' /kha'iddɔ ~ 'khaidɔ/ 'food'.

The verbal suffixes are somewhat different.

VS-1 is /a/, e.g.

/kɔra/ 'to do' /hoa/ 'to be' /zUa/ 'to go' /thɔka/ 'to stay'

VS-2 is /ibɔ ~ bɔ/ but restricted to obligatory occurrence before

/loi/ 'action for, towards, upto' /logia/ 'thing meant for' e.g.

/koribɔloi zabɔloi hobɔloi thakibɔloi/

VS-3 is /Ũte ~ te/ with imperfect connotation. e.g.

/korŨte hoŨte zaŨte/

and /at/ with perfect connotation, e.g.

/kɔrat hoat zUat/

VS-4 is /ile ~ le/ with imperfect connotation e.g.

/korile hoile gole thakile/

and /ilɔt ~ lɔt/ with perfect connotation, e.g.

/korilɔt hoilɔt golɔt thakilɔt/

For examples of usage,

/mɔe ahile tumi zaba/ 'You will go after I have come.'

/mɔe ahilɔt teŨ gol/ 'He went away after I came.'

VS-5 is /i/, e.g.

/kori hoi goi thaki/

VS-6 is zero, e.g.

/kɔr ho za thak/

VS-7 does not occur. The meaning is approximated by VS-1

VS-8 is /ɔk/, e.g.

/korɔk hook zaɔk thakɔk/

VS-9 is the same as VS-8, and there is no difference between ordinary and honorific ranks in the verb forms.

VS-10 is /Ũ/.

VS-11 is /ɔ/.

VS-12 is /a/ and not distinguishable from VS-1.

VS-13 is /e/.

VS-14 does not occur.

VS-15 is /im ~ m/.

VS-16 is /ibi ~ bi/.

VS-17 is /iba ~ ba/.

VS-18 is /ibɔ ~ bɔ/.

VS-19 does not occur.

VS-20 through VS-24 do not occur.
The meaning is approximated by the simple past tense forms followed by the auxiliary /hẽten/, e.g.
/mɔe golUm hẽten/ 'I would have gone.'

VS-25 is /ilŨ ~ lŨ/.

VS-26 is /ili ~ li/.

VS-27 is /ila ~ la/.

VS-28 does not occur.

VS-29 is /il ~ l/.

VS-30 does not occur.

VS-31 through VS-35 do not occur.
The meaning is approximated by the simple present tense.

VS-36 is /isŨ/.

VS-37 is /isɔ/.

VS-38 is /isa/.

VS-39 is /ise/.

VS-40 does not occur.

VS-41 through VS-45 do not occur.

VS-46 is /isilŨ/.

VS-47 is /isili/.

VS-48 is /isila/.

VS-49 is /isil/.

VS-50 does not occur.

Negatives are formed by prefixing /ni ne nu nU nɔ/ chosen in accordance with the vowel of the verb stem, e.g.
/nuxunae/ 'does not sound' /nUbUle/ 'does not say' /nɔhɔe/ 'it is not that, no' /nimile/ 'does not agree' /nezae/ 'does not go'.
But at least one informant used /nɔ/ for all types of verb stems.

Nouns have cases with the following case particles.

Zero. This marks a subject in a clause with no verb or with verb /hɔ/ 'to be that' or with verb /as/ 'to be there'.
More generally, it marks an impersonal object. e.g. /loratU bhal/ 'The boy is good.' /loratU bhale ase/ 'The boy is well.' /bhal nuxunae/ 'does not sound good' /putɔlatU ana/ 'Bring that doll.'

/e/ marks an agent or junction. e.g. /loratUe hãhe/ 'The boy is smiling.' /ziɛke likhise/ 'His daughter has written.'

/i/ appears to be a restricted variant of /e/ e.g. /tumi/ 'you'

/ɔk ~ k/ marks a personal object. e.g. /mUk koisa ne ki/ 'Did you say it to me?' /tUmak/ 'to you'

/ɔt ~ t/ marks a place. e.g. /dexɔt/ 'in the country' /reŋŋunɔt/ 'at Rangoon'

/ɔr ~ r/ marks an origin, goal or possession. e.g. /hatɔr/ 'of the hand' /mUr/ 'of me'

/ɔre ~ re/ marks a material or instrument. e.g. /apuni kUn kɔlizɔre pas korise/ 'From which college did you graduate?'

/ɔkoi ~ koi/ marks a point of reference or comparison. e.g.

/ɛnekoi/ 'thus' /ramɔtɔkoi/ 'than Ram'

/ɔloi ~ loi/ marks a terminus. e.g.

/gUahatiloi zaba ne ki/ 'Will you go to Gauhati?'

Personal pronouns are as follows.

/mɔe/ for the agentive, and /mU/ plus case suffix for the other cases. First person singular.

/ami/ for the agentive, and /ama/ plus case suffix for the other cases. First person plural.

/tɔe/ for the agentive, and /tU/ plus case suffix for the other cases. Second person, singular number, familiar rank.

/tumi/ for the agentive, and /tUma/ plus suffix for the other cases. Second person, singular number, ordinary rank.

/apuni/ for the agentive, and /apUna/ plus suffix for the other cases. Second person, singular number, honorific rank.

/i/ for the agentive and personal base, and /e ɛ o/ for impersonal and honorific base. Proximate or near third person. e.g.

/iar/ 'of this person' /ei/ 'this woman, this thing' /ot ~ ekhet/ 'His Presence' /eŨ/ 'this person of honorific rank'

/xi/ for the agentive, and /ta te tɛ to/ as base. Obviate or remote third person. e.g. /tai/ 'she' /xihɔ̃t ~ tehɔ̃t/ 'they'

/zi/ for the agentive, and /za ze zE zo/ as base. Relative 'that which' third person.

/k/ derivatives for the interrogative. Note /kUne/ 'by which person'.

Plural number is shown by choosing a suitable determiner, such as /bUr bilak hɔ̃t/, of which /bUr/ is for familiar rank only and /hɔ̃t/ for persons only. e.g.

/soali bilakɔk/ 'to the girls' /tUmahɔ̃tɔr/ 'of you people'

Other determiners may show rank marking in the singular number. e.g.

/zɔn/ for men of ordinary rank, /zɔna/ for men of honorific rank, and /zɔni/ for women and other lesser animate beings.

Kinship nouns have a set of obligatory determiners with person marking that precede any case suffix. Zero marks generality as well as first person, /ɛr/ marks second person of familiar rank, /ɛra/ marks second person of ordinary or honorific rank, and /ɛk/ marks third person of any rank. e.g.

/zi ziɛr ziɛra ziɛk/ 'daughter' /mita mitaɛr mitaɛra mitaɛk/ 'friend'

There is a contrast between /ta/ used for enumerations and /tU/ for marking precognition. e.g.

/athɔta/ 'eight units' /loratU/ 'the boy already known to us'

The injunctives require special notice.

/hɛ̃ten/ occurs only after the simple past tense to mean the would have been

/hɔ̃t/ as well as

/hɔ̃k/ occur only after first or second person to emphasize plurality. e.g.

/korim hɔ̃k/ 'we shall do it' /zabahɔ̃t/ 'you all will go'

/goi/ e.g.

/die goi/ 'He does give it.'

/hi/ e.g.

/pandu pale hi/ 'He reached Pandu.'

/son/ e.g.

/goisili son/ 'You went there after all.'

/ahiba son/ 'You will please come.'

/de/ e.g.

/ahiba de/ 'Please come (as you seem to wish to do).'

/dekhŨ/ e.g.

dɔrɔb khUatU tUpɔni nahil dekhŨ/ 'Even after taking the medicine, sleep did not come (as it should have).'

(/khUa/ plus locative /t/ plus inclusive emphasizer /U/)

Colloquial words, including some auxiliaries, are rather different from those of Bengali, but will not be listed here. Learned words are mostly shared with Bengali, though pronounced differently.

The script is the same as for Bengali but for two letters. Spelling and pronunciation are much more complicated than in Bengali, but will not be surveyed here.

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